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# **USSR Report**

**POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS**

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10 December 1984

**USSR REPORT**  
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INTERNATIONAL

CEMA CONFERENCE ON CULTURE, MASS INFORMATION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Conference Opens

GF041359 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 12 Oct 84 p 2

[Excerpts] The international science meeting, which opened in Yerevan on 11 October, is dedicated to the further promotion of the role of culture and means of mass information branches in the solution of socioeconomic problems of the socialist public. Famous scientists, party, soviet, public, and trade unions organizations and establishment and creative associations leaders, and delegation of all CEMA-member countries are participating.

The science meeting participants were greeted by R. Arzumanyan, deputy chairmen of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

A. Rumyantsev, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council for the comprehensive problem of "the economic standards of socialism development and the competition of the two systems" and academician of USSR Academy of Sciences, opened the meeting with the introductory speech.

He said: Culture and the means of mass information problems and their position and role in the construction and perfection of developed socialism are the ardent issues for all the fraternal CEMA-member countries. Their study in modern circumstances is the expression for the basic solution of these issues. Today, in correspondence with the decisions of the high-level economic and scientific conference of the CEMA-member countries, the social and economic development intensification in our country becomes the principle line. In order to solve these problems all reserves should be put into use.

The realization of socioeconomic development tasks of substantial significance requires the mobilization of the efforts of all ideological and education work sectors. The culture branches, mass information means, and all socialist culture branches have a great role here.

The international scientific meeting was attended by F. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; G. Andreyev, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; K. Dallakyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; G. Sagoyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's

state planning committee; and S. Avedisyan, chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Cultural Department.

Reception by Armenian Premier

GF071712 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 13 Oct 84 p 1

[Excerpts] On 12 October, F. T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, received a group of participants to the international scientific conference on "Raising the role of culture and mass information means in solving socioeconomic problems of the socialist society," as well as guests from Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Cuba, Hungary, Mongolia, Czechoslovakia, and Romania.

F.T. Sarkisyan warmly greeted the scientific conference participants on behalf of the Armenian SSR Government and wished them fruitful work.

A.M. Rumyantsev, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council for the comprehensive problem of "economic standards of socialist development and the competition of the two systems," and academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and B.I. Shabanov, deputy USSR culture minister, expressed deep gratitude to the Armenian SSR Government for the warm welcome and care displayed toward the participants of the international scientific conference.

The warm and friendly reception was attended by K.L. Dallakyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; R.A. Arzumanyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; G.S. Sagoyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee; G.Y. Vartanyan, administrator of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs; G.A. Arakelyan, Armenian SSR culture minister; and other officials.

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INTERNATIONAL

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS' APPOINTMENTS ABROAD REPORTED

Correspondents' Appointments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 6, Jun 84 pp 66-67

[Article: NAZNACHENIYA: lists several appointments]

[Text] Mikhail Mikkaylovich B<sub>o</sub>tyan was appointed correspondent of the newspaper KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in the Polish People's Republic.

He was born in 1951 and graduated from the Belorussian University. In 1973, he began to work in the press as executive secretary of a rayon newspaper. Since 1976 he has been engaged in Komsomol work in Belorussia, and since 1981 he has been executive organizer in the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol.

Yevgeniy Yefimovich Kiselev was appointed TASS correspondent in Sri Lanka and the Republic of Maldives.

He was born in 1932 and graduated from the Moscow International Relations Institute. He has worked for TASS since 1955: he has been editor of the Far Eastern Division of the Agency of Foreign Information, correspondent for the News Agency in Thailand, and executive publisher of the official bulletin of the Main Editorial Board for Foreign Information. He has worked for the UN Secretariat in the United States as an editor and translator and as a staff employee of the UN Secretariat in Switzerland. In 1980 he became executive publisher for the Photo Review Desk of the Main Editorial Board for Photo Information, and since 1982 he has been chief publisher of the Combined Editorial Board for Foreign Information of the TASS Main Editorial Board for Information Abroad.

Viktor Ivanovich Mikheyev was appointed chief station correspondent for Soviet television and radio in Austria.

He was born in 1924 and graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. From 1958 until 1963 he was head of the Russian translation section of UNESCO. From 1963 until 1974 he worked for the Institute of Social Sciences and with the staff of the CPDU Central Committee. He then became chief bureau, of APN ["Novosti Press Agency"], editor-in-chief of the newspaper "SSSR SEGODNYA," and counselor at the Soviet embassy in Canada. Since 1980 he has been political reviewer for Central Television and

Broadcasting of USSR State Radio and Television. He is a professor and holds a doctorate in philosophical sciences.

Igor' Vladimirovich Myakishev was appointed Division Chief of TASS in Morocco, Mauritania, Western Sahara, and the Canary Islands. He was born in 1941 and graduated from the Institute for Asian and African Countries at Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov. He began working for TASS in 1968 as editor of the Arab East, Middle East, and India Desk of the Main Editorial Board for Foreign Information. He has been a TASS correspondent in Algeria and in Tunisia. In 1979 he began working as deputy chief of the Eastern Countries Desk of the Main Editorial Board for Foreign Information, and in 1982 he became TASS correspondent for Morocco, Mauritania, Western Sahara, and the Canary Islands.

Andrey Aleksandrovich Sidorin was appointed correspondent of the TASS division in the United States (New York). He was born in 1955 and graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He has worked for TASS since 1977: he was an editor and later senior editor of the American Countries Desk of the Main Editorial Board for Foreign Information.

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#### More Correspondents' Appointments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 8, Aug 84 pp 70-71

[Article NAZNACHENIYA: lists more appointments]

[Text] Sergey Vladimirovich Ivanov was appointed TASS correspondent in Hungary. He was born in 1956 and graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He has worked for TASS since 1978. He was an editor and a translator for TASS in Hungary and since 1981 has been editor of the Main Desk for the Socialist Countries of the TASS Main Editorial Board for Foreign Information.

Igor' L'vovich Kuznetsov was appointed bureau chief for APN in Kuwait. He was born in 1946 and graduated from the Institute for Asian and African Countries at Moscow State University. He began work with the Novosti press agency in 1973: he was a reviewer, editor of the Main Desk for the Near and Middle East, and bureau chief for the agency in Libya. Since 1981 he has been senior editor of the Combined Desk for the Arab Countries of Asia of the APN Main Editorial Board for the Near East, the Middle East, and Africa.

Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Mad'yarov was appointed APN bureau chief in Morocco. He was born in 1947 and graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He began work with the Novosti press agency in 1973. He has been a reviewer, editor of the Main Desk for the Near and Middle East, and

senior editor of the APN Information Center in Lebanon. Since 1981 he has been senior editor of the APN Main Editorial Board for the Near East, the Middle East, and Africa.

Kirill Borisovich Privalov was appointed correspondent for the newspaper KOMSOMOL PRAVDA in France.

He was born in 1954 and graduated from Moscow University. He began working in the press in 1975. He has worked for the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and for the magazines SPORT V SSR and SOVETSKIY SOYUZ. Since 1984 he has been a correspondent in the Division for Foreign Information and the International Youth Movement of the newspaper KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA.

Yuriy Fedorovich Trushin was appointed head of TASS in Czechoslovakia. He was born in 1926. University educated. He began work for TASS in 1954 and was a TASS correspondent in Thailand. From 1960 until 1981 he was head of TASS in Egypt and in Pakistan. Since 1981 he has been deputy editor-in-chief of the TASS Main Editorial Board for Information Abroad.

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#### Additional Correspondents' Appointments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 9, Sep 84 p 80

[Article NAZNACHENIYA: lists additional appointments]

[Text] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Vedenyapin was appointed chief station correspondent for Soviet television and radio in Switzerland. He was born in 1941 and graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He began work with USSR State Radio and Television in 1962. He was editor of the Division of Commentary and Discussion for Foreign Political Issues of the Main Editorial Board of POSLEDNIYE IZVESTIYA, editor of the International Division of the Main Editorial Board for Propaganda, and special correspondent of the Division of International Information (the "Mayak" program). From 1977 until 1982 he managed the correspondent station television and radio in Guinea. Since 1982 he has worked as a correspondent in the Division of International Information of the Main Editorial Board for Information (the "Mayak" program) of USSR State Radio and Television.

Peter Ivanovich Yezherov was appointed TASS correspondent in Cameroon. He was born in 1920 and graduated from the Leningrad Institute of Shipbuilding and the Higher Diplomatic School. He has worked for TASS since 1947. He was a TASS correspondent in Israel, Egypt, and Nigeria and has headed TASS divisions in Lebanon, and Switzerland. He has worked as executive publisher of the Editorial Board for Information Abroad, deputy head of the Southeast Asia Division of the Editorial Board for Foreign Information, head of the Reference Division, and chief publisher of the Main Editorial Board for Foreign Information. Since 1978 he has been editorial head of the TASS Main Editorial Board for Foreign Information.

Pavel Afanas'yevich Negoitsa was appointed correspondent of the newspaper TRUD in Italy.

He was born in 1952 and graduated in journalism from Moscow University. Since 1979 he has been a correspondent in the Division of Socialist Countries of the newspaper TRUD.

Lev Aleksandrovich Novikov was appointed chief station correspondent for Soviet television and radio in Finland.

He was born in 1924 and graduated from the Krasnoyarsk Pedagogical Institute. From 1949 until 1956 he worked as a literary contributor, correspondent, editor, and reviewer with the Main Editorial Board for Broadcasting in the Latin American Countries of USSR State Radio and Television. From 1956-1962 he was a literary contributor and special correspondent for the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. In 1963 and 1964 he was a special correspondent for APN. He began work with USSR State Radio and Television in 1964. He was deputy editor-in-chief of the Main Editorial Board for Broadcasting in the Latin American Countries and chief station correspondent for Soviet television and radio in Chile. Since 1980 he has been a political reviewer with USSR State Radio and Television.

Aleksandr Yegorovich Chibisov was appointed head of the APN office in Czechoslovakia.

He was born in 1946 and graduated in journalism from Moscow University. He began working in the press in 1970. He has worked for the Moscow Oblast Newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA and for the newspapers GOLOS RODINY and VECHERNAYA MOSKVA. From 1973 until 1976 he was editor and senior editor for the APN Main Editorial Board for the Socialist Countries. From 1976-1980 he was deputy editor-in-chief of the weekly magazine TYDENIK AKTUALIT for the APN office in Czechoslovakia. In 1980 he became editor-in-chief of the Combined Editorial Board PNR-CSSR, and in 1982 editor-in-chief of the CSSR Combined Editorial Board of the APN Main Editorial Board for the Socialist Countries.

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NATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CPSU HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 10, Oct 84 (signed to press 28 Sep 84) pp 31-43

[Article by A. M. Sovokin, doctor of historical sciences, under rubric "Discussions: Problems of CPSU Historical Experience (Discussion begun by the publication of an article by N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov -- see VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 6, 1984)": "V. I. Lenin Concerning Historical Experience"]

[Text] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always attached and continues to attach primary importance to the study of the ideological heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin. Their works form the methodological foundation of all the social sciences, including the science of the party's history. Our party's historical experience and its history are an invaluable wealth; mastering that wealth, using it in the interests of the transformation of society and improving developed socialism is an important task of Soviet Communists. And in this regard one can understand the attention to the problems of studying the historical experience of the CPSU which are mentioned in the article written by N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov.

Party-historical science occupies an important place in the party's ideological work which is aimed at that ideological and moral elevation of Soviet citizens which would guarantee the resolution of the tasks improving developed socialism<sup>1</sup>. It is precisely party-historical science that reveals the successive relationship that the revolutionary traditions of the struggle waged by the Russian proletariat and its vanguard, the Leninist party, for the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in 1917 and for the building of socialism in the USSR has with the practical aspects of improving developed socialism; it provides the answers to the specific questions about the origins and development of the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state; and it explains the historical place and role of the CPSU as the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society.

When studying and generalizing the specific facts in the history of the CPSU, party-historical science points out its instructive lessons and the experience which, illuminated by Marxist-Leninist theory, becomes a reliable instrument of the CPSU in its resolution of the vitally important tasks of modern life.

The published article by N. N. Maslov and V.S. Ovchinnikov reveals the content of the concept "the CPSU historical experience" as a category of historical science, and also touches upon questions of the creative study and use of that experience in the practice of the CPSU and the fraternal communist parties. What is taken first of all as the basis of the argumentation is the Leninist theoretical heritage, which, as the authors justifiably point out, is of decisive importance in the search for ways and means to develop and improve the methods of studying the historical experience of the CPSU and to increase the effectiveness of party-historical science in communist construction<sup>2</sup>. At the same time the article, in our opinion, has revealed with insufficient completeness the specific content of the Leninist theoretical heritage with regard to the problems of studying, generalizing, and using the historical experience of the CPSU and its international importance. In this report we have made an attempt, to a certain degree, to fill that gap.

In a deepened study of theory, Lenin always sought and found the answers to the vitally important questions of the day<sup>3</sup>. He viewed history primarily from the point of those instructive lessons and that experience which are provided by it for the resolution of the complicated tasks of the revolutionary transformation of society<sup>4</sup>. In this sense one can say that Lenin "forced the operation of history" for the socialist revolution, for socialist construction in our country, in the interests of confirming communist ideals in the international workers and liberation movement. It is in this Leninist approach to history that the historians of the CPSU and Soviet society, in the final analysis, see their task.

Decisively rejecting the engagement of history in the speculative mode, Lenin considered the study and propagandizing of historical experience to be the duty of a revolutionary. He himself studied and called upon others to study its specific materials in the interests of the present and the future<sup>5</sup>. Therefore it is not accidental that Leninist methodology, with its dialectical approach to the evaluations of phenomena and facts, is a firm foundation for party-historical science and for Soviet historical science as a whole.

Indicating in a practical manner how one should generalize and use historical experience, Vladimir Il'ich categorically rejected the assertions of the dogmatists about the possibility of the simple borrowing or copying of the revolutionary tactics that were tested in the circumstances of the irreversibly passed sociopolitical and international situation of the past. He spoke out decisively against unthinkingly taking the conclusions that were made under definite historical conditions and extending them to countries or historical periods having different tasks on their agenda. "Failing to devote attention to the changed... conditions, and fighting to maintain the old resolutions of Marxism, means being true to the letter, but not to the spirit of theory," he wrote. "It means repeating by memory the previous conclusions, without being able to take advantage of the methods of Marxist research for analyzing the new political situation"<sup>6</sup>. At the same time Lenin strictly defended the succession with that which was already achieved by the Marxists of the previous historical era, viewing those achievements as the foundation for the resolution of the new and, frequently, extremely difficult tasks confronting society<sup>7</sup>.

Lenin viewed repeating historical phenomena as the basis for isolating the natural laws underlying development, for carrying out the scientific analysis of history, and for determining the prospects for the future. At the same time he waged a strenuous struggle against the dogmatists who, to please the overall scheme, ignored the actual historical reality, changing over practically to the positions of the bourgeoisie. If one takes only the theoretical aspect of the question, he noted, the dogmatists are incapable of understanding the living soul of Marxism, of realizing that, "with the existence of the overall natural law of development, in world history as a whole one by no means sees the preclusion, but, rather, the supposition for individual zones of development, which represent a uniqueness either of form, or of the order of that development"<sup>8</sup>. As early as the beginning of the first Russian revolution, Lenin, criticizing the Mensheviks, wrote that it is necessary to have a truly schoolchild's concept of history in order, on the basis of a picture that is reliable in general and on the whole for centuries, to prepare for oneself during a revolutionary era the plan for one's own activity<sup>9</sup>. That plan, that strategy and tactics of the struggle, of course, take into consideration the previous experience, but they proceed primarily from the specific historical conditions. The general natural laws manifest themselves separately, and therefore, without a knowledge of those natural laws, or the specifics of the political situation in which they manifest themselves, it is impossible to plan or carry out the tactical line of the revolutionary proletariat.

In their article, N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov correctly direct attention to the fact that the Marxist-Leninist principle of historism requires a person to view each principle historically, in connection with other principles and with the concrete experience of history<sup>10</sup>. Lenin pointed out that it is "history that we must study most of all, its course and its class importance that we have to analyze most of all"<sup>11</sup>. The analysis of the factual base of the living experience of the past and the present provides material for resolving the theoretical and practical tasks.

The experience of history for the CPSU has been and will always remain one of the chief criteria of the correctness of the tasks being planned for the attainment of the goals that have been defined by the party. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that we must not forget that which we are taught by science, by the experience of all countries, and that before we act, we must first analyze the history<sup>12</sup>. The party of Bolsheviks has always followed that principle, using both its own experience and the experience of world history. During the years of the first Russian revolutions, on the eve of and during the course of the preparation of the victory of the Great October, the party of Bolsheviks extracted very important lessons primarily from the experience of the great French Revolution, the 1848 revolution, and the Paris Commune. At the same time, in the crucible of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world, it also developed its own experience.

Without a doubt, historical experience (in the article by N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov, "the objectively existing phenomenon of the historical process," p 63) is the objective reality of history and of the activity of classes and parties, it is the practical experience of the socially organized individuals. Historical experience as a category of cognition in social

science is the totality of our sensations, perceptions, and generalizations, it is the more or less complete reproduction of the objective, real, concrete historical process that exists outside of and apart from our consciousness. Historical experience proceeds from an analysis of the facts of actual reality which are taken in their entirety. In particular, the experience of the CPSU can be properly understood and evaluated when there has been a realistic, scientifically substantiated approach, taken in the context of world history and the entire communist and workers movement. The Bolshevik party, as early as the result of the victory of the October Socialist Revolution and the defense of its gains, proved that its experience is not only of local, particularly national, or Russian importance, but, rather, of international importance. At the same time, subsequently, in the course of the development of the socialist revolutions in other countries, the historical experience of the CPSU was also enriched.

In view of the multifaceted nature and complexity of historical experience, its research is an extremely difficult matter. In addition, historical experience, as a result of class and gnosiological reasons, can be interpreted variously. As a result, in their article N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov point out that "one and the same event that has occurred in history can provide -- and, as a rule, does provide -- a basis for various conclusions for representatives of antagonistic classes and promotes the accumulation by them of experience that is different in content" (p 64). The fact that representatives of various classes take different approaches to the evaluation of historical experience is natural and there is absolutely no doubt about that. But the content of that experience, its objective significance, does not change and cannot change. Its essence remains the same, irrespective of whether it is being studied by an idealist or a materialist, although the results of the research, of course, will be different.

The understanding and interpretation of the essence of historical experience were put on a scientific foundation only after the appearance of proletarian theory -- Marxism. It became the concentrated expression of historical experience, concrete revolutionary practice, and revolutionary thought. Historical experience, which has been generalized on the basis of Marxist methodology, is the initial material for isolating the natural laws that underlie social development and for checking their revolutionary practice. Opponents of Marxism -- the ideologists of the exploiter classes -- could not and cannot provide any truly scientific understanding or illumination for historical experience as a basis for the materialistic interpretation of history. It is well known that Lenin took an uncompromising attitude toward the distortion of the experience of history by representatives of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties -- the Constitutional Democrats, Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, etc. -- who cited historical examples to substantiate their erroneous conceptions of the development of Russia. Their practice of preserving and reinforcing the bourgeois and petty bourgeois classes was completely reflected in the theoretical conceptions and the attempts to use historical experience, which were characterized by class limitation. Lenin constantly emphasized that a fundamental theoretical flaw of the opponents of revolutionary Marxism is their inability to grasp the uniqueness of the social relations in Russia, their striving to make them fit into a general European stereotype, into a scheme for the development of other

countries, and their ignoring of the fact that homogeneous processes occurred in Russia during a different historical era, in a different historical environment, with a different correlation of the class forces. In order to make effective use of historical experience, Lenin emphasized, it is necessary to know how to "take a critical attitude toward that experience and how to verify it independently"<sup>13</sup>. The figures in the 2nd International, the ideologists of the type of Vandervelde and Kautsky, who flaunted their knowledge of Marxism, left completely unmentioned that which most substantial in the experience of the proletarian revolution, thus manifesting their complete inability to understand its significance.

The guiding thread for understanding history and the historical creativity of the masses of the people was discovered by K. Marx and F. Engels. They scientifically substantiated materialistic dialectics and applied it to a study of the historical phenomena of social life. As early as the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," K. Marx and F. Engels summed up the overall results of history, on the basis of which they defined its motivating forces and the directions for its development. K. Marx, Lenin pointed out, studied the experience of the great movements of the oppressed classes, studied the "natural-historical process, the birth of the new society from the old one, the transitional forms from the latter to the former. He takes the factual experience of the mass proletarian movement and attempts to extract practical lessons from it"<sup>14</sup>.

Based on the experience of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, Marxism as a theory was, at the same time, tested by revolutionary practice and was completely enriched in class engagements. Marx not only laid the foundation for a scientific understanding of history, but also was the first person to provide models for a truly scientific analysis of the experience of the revolutionary battles, and their causes and consequences. The merit of the creators of Marxist theory lay in the fact that they, having discovered and substantiated a truly scientific method for understanding history, applied it in practice, and provided a concrete analysis of the historical events in England, Germany, France, Italy, and a number of other countries. The theoretical principles of the communists, K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out, "are only a general expression of the actual relations in the class struggle that is occurring, an expression of the historical movement that is being carried out in front of our eyes"<sup>15</sup>. Learning lessons from the experience of the past and their contemporaneous reality, making conclusions from them, and summing up the results of the liberation struggle and of historical practice, the founders of scientific communism thus worked for the future of mankind, remembering that their research would be applicable in the future, in another place, in another country, where the revolutionary conflagration would occur in the near future. The proletarian movement thus received not only the key to its explanation, but also a very reliable compass for getting one's orientation in the most complicated questions of social life, a method of understanding and changing the world.

The theory that became an organic continuation and development of Marxism, including the area of the enrichment of historical experience and of revolutionary practice, was Leninism, which arose in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Lenin saw in Marxism the highest development of

historical, economic, and philosophical science as a whole. "We want," he remarked, "to take advantage of the less of this history. We see in Marxism...the very quintessence of that historical lesson and guidance"<sup>16</sup>. Summing up the Marxist method of generalizing the lessons of history, Lenin wrote, "Analyzing that experience, extracting from it the lessons of tactics, and re-examining on its basis his own theory -- that is how Marx posed his task"<sup>17</sup>. After Marx and Engels, Lenin provided a model of materialistic historiography, a model for studying historical experience and applying it in practice. He recalled Marx's principle to the effect that the struggling classes can be aided only by studying "their recent revolutionary past, in order to prepare for the forthcoming new revolutionary struggle"<sup>18</sup>. Studying historical experience for the determination of the party's new tasks, with a consideration of the concrete political situation, Lenin called upon people to accumulate their historical knowledge, to study the historical facts that form the basis of the science and policy of the communist parties, to understand the most profound history of the previous generations, and to learn from the experience of the great movements"<sup>19</sup>.

Depending upon the context, Lenin called historical experience, as applicable to world history: "world experience," "the experience of all the civilized countries," "the experience of all the histories of revolutions," "the experience of the workers of all countries," "the experience of the mass European workers movement," and "the experience of the proletarians of neighboring countries; and, as applicable to the experience of our country: "the experience of the proletarian revolution," "the experience of the Soviet revolution," "our experience," and "Russian experience"; at the same time he directed attention to various aspects of experience: "political experience," "military experience," "two years of experience," etc. Lenin's definitions of historical experience help one to understand its various aspects in the overall context of world history, the history of our country, and of our party. The party of Bolsheviks accumulated a tremendous amount of experience in theoretical, political, and ideological activity. It is to the study of that experience that the efforts of Soviet social scientists, including CPSU historians, have been directed.

Repeatedly referring to the experience of the three Russian revolutions, to the experience of the construction of the world's first proletarian state and socialism in our country, and to the experience of the defense of the socialist Homeland, Lenin at the same time analyzed and generalized the experience of the interrelationships between the Communists and other parties, and of the struggle waged against opportunistic currents, and against schismatics and capitulators. On the basis of historical experience, he indicated, for example, that it is impossible to be victorious in the proletarian revolution if one has in one's ranks reformists or Mensheviks, and that the petty-bourgeois socialists of the Menshevik type "were rebaptized into adherents of the proletariat with the sole purpose of insinuating, by means of deception, a policy of appeasement with 'their own' national bourgeoisie against the revolutionary workers"<sup>20</sup>. The experience of all countries, Lenin wrote, shows that, trusting the reformists, the workers always proved to be deceived and made to look foolish<sup>21</sup>.

The historical experience of the CPSU, while part of worldwide historical experience and the experience of the communist and workers' movement, is

primarily "our Russian experience," the experience of the origin, development, and activity of our party, of its theoretical and practical work at various stages of history, up to and including the modern days, when tasks of improving developed socialism in the USSR are being resolved. This experience is multifaceted both in the problem areas involved, and with regard to the various stages and periods of the history of the CPSU. It should be viewed on a broad scale, on the international scale. One should see in the national, the regional not only the specific problems, but also the general ones that help to ascertain the natural laws underlying the development. The party's strength lies in the relationship of succession that the experience of the past has with the experience that is being accumulated by the party in the course of building a new society. Thus, viewing the problem of the interrelationships between the proletariat and the peasantry, Lenin pointed out at the 3rd Congress of the Komintern, "...The experience which we are undergoing will be useful for future proletarian revolutions..."<sup>22</sup>. That Leninist conclusion has a direct relationship also to the experience of resolving many important problems of our time, including the experience of building improving developed socialism as a definite stage in the advancement of mankind toward communism.

In Lenin's works and in the works of Marxist researchers, the concrete historical experience of the CPSU has been summed up. In this experience, which was achieved on the basis of Marxist-Leninist analysis, one sees the reflection of the objective laws of the development of society, the actual reasons for the behavior of the classes and the parties, and the role of the masses of the people, which are the true creators of history. It is not "verbal manipulations with 'experience,'" as Lenin noted concerning A. Rey's book "Sovremennaya filosofiya" [Modern Philosophy], but the discovery of the objective, the concrete for the most part, the real, as he emphasized in the text of that very book<sup>23</sup> -- that is what is required in order to ascertain the truth.

Taking into consideration the Leninist requirement of the dialectical-materialistic approach to historical events, the party repeatedly directed the attention of Soviet social scientists to the need for an objective analysis of the real processes of social life for purposes of the correct evaluation of historical experience and the prospects for the development of our society<sup>24</sup>, and to the importance of thorough, concrete research on the social phenomena and vitally important modern problems<sup>25</sup>. We may as well admit the fact that this very important requirement is by no means always implemented in our research.

Developing the political line of the party of Bolsheviks and guiding its practical activity, Lenin relied upon the laws that are common to all revolutionary movements and upon the detailed analysis of the international revolutionary experience. "Science," he pointed out, "requires, first of all, the taking into consideration of the experience of other countries, especially if the other...countries are undergoing or have recently undergone extremely similar experience; secondly, the taking into consideration of all the forces, groups, parties, classes, and masses operating within the particular country..."<sup>26</sup>.

In scientific history Lenin saw "the only Marxist substantiation for all our decisions"<sup>27</sup>.

The Marxist method of gaining knowledge of history in the interests of the present and the future provided Lenin with the opportunity to isolate from the variety of the historical past those facts, phenomena, and events which helped to reveal the relationship between the various eras, and the natural law underlying the social processes.

The party of Bolsheviks that was created by Lenin absorbed and assimilated, over a period of decades, and creatively adapted the worldwide revolutionary experience of the great movements of the masses of the people. That party was the heiress and the continuer of all that was the best in the revolutionary movement. It was a faithful guardian and protector of its theoretical generalization -- Marxism, that great theory that was created by Marx and Engels on the basis of a study of world experience.

Creatively adapting the historical experience and defending Marxist theory against various kinds of distortions, Lenin at the same time felt that Marxism had laid only the keystones of that science, which should be developed in all directions. Revolutionary theory is based on a study of history, and of the concrete reality. It takes into consideration real life, the real facts of revolutionary practice, and if it does not, it can turn into a catechism, a collection of postulates. In the history of Marxist thought, after Marx and Engels there was no scientist, politician, or other figure who was able as Lenin had been able, with the aid of the dialectical-materialistic method, to advance in all directions the science that had been created by them, to enrich with fundamentally important principles all the component parts of Marxism, or to discover a new stage in its development. Consistently defending the basic principles of Marxism and its most important ideas and concepts, and taking historical experience into consideration, at the same time, in view of the change in the situation, he took a bold step to refine various conclusions, to develop and enrich revolutionary theory and the strategy and tactics of the proletarian party.

Standing on the soil of creative Marxism, Lenin felt that even the historical laws that pertain to revolution can have exceptions. Historical laws "have in mind only the typical, that which Marx once called the 'ideal' in the sense of average, normal, typical capitalism"<sup>28</sup>. General formulas are capable, at best, of only noting the general tasks that must be changed as applicable to the concrete situation in "each special zone of the historical process"<sup>29</sup>. In each era, Lenin felt, there exist and there will continue to exist individual, partial movements both forward and backward, and there exist and will continue to exist various deviations from the average type and from the average rate of the movements. "We cannot know with what speed or with what success the individual historical movements of a particular era will develop," he wrote. "But we can know and we do know what class is standing in the center of a particular era, determining its chief content, the chief direction of its development, the chief peculiarities of the historical situation in the particular era, etc. It is only on that basis...that we can building our tactics correctly..."<sup>30</sup>.

The development of Marxist-Leninist theory occurred in a close, inseparable tie with revolutionary practice. The theoretical Leninist elaborations of the concept of the socialist revolution and the problems of the republic of Soviets as a form of the proletarian state that was capable of pulling the country out of the abyss of the war and the economic catastrophe were prompted by life itself. Pointing to the importance of revolutionary theory, Lenin emphasized that that theory itself "achieves its final formation only in close tie with the practice of a truly mass-scale and truly revolutionary movement"<sup>31</sup>.

In the revolutionary creativity of the masses and in their experience Lenin found material for the development of theory, for substantiating the strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik party. He concretely researches the material, objective prerequisites of socialism, which were formed in the depths of monopoly capitalism, and showed imperialism as the eve of the proletarian revolution. Lenin's works demonstrated in full measure the live soul of Marxism: the profound analysis of the concrete situation, and revolutionary dialectics. The strength of Marxist-Leninist theory consists in the fact that that theory has always not only generalized the revolutionary practice, but also has been enriched by it. The everyday reflection of actual reality helped to exert an effect upon the entire course of the revolution, upon the behavior of classes and parties. Revolutionary practice, in combination with historical experience, is an inexhaustible source of the development of Marxist-Leninist science and of new theoretical discoveries. Creatively developing and skillfully and flexibly applying Marxist theory to the unique conditions of Russia, Lenin led the party of Bolsheviks to the victory of the socialist revolution, provided an extended program of construction of the socialist society, and began to carry it out.

Lenin's entire theoretical and practical activity is a model of how to use the conclusions of Marx and Engels and the historical experience for determining the concrete tasks of the policy of the proletarian party. Attaching tremendous importance to this experience, Vladimir Il'ich at the same time warned against being captivated by "past experience, which was splendid, high, and majestic, and was of worldwide importance," but which cannot always answer the concrete questions of the particular reality that arise as the revolution and the proletarian state develop<sup>32</sup>. Taking into consideration the fact that the socialist revolution, to use a figurative expression, derives its poetry only from the future, rather than from the past, Lenin criticized those who looked "at the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship by turning their face to the past, rather than to the future"<sup>33</sup>. He demanded, in the name of that future, "learning how to understand the present"<sup>34</sup>. From the Communist, he wrote, one should expect greater attention to the tasks of tomorrow, rather than of yesterday<sup>35</sup>. Historical experience for Lenin, as he repeatedly noted after the victory of October, was necessary in order to establish the inseparable tie between the past and the present and to make from it the conclusions for immediate practical activity. Lenin called upon the Bolsheviks to assimilate "that indisputable truth that a Marxist must take into consideration real life, the facts of everyday reality, rather than continuing to hold onto yesterday's theory, which, like every other kind of theory, at best only noted that which is basic and general, that only approximates the grasping of the complexity of life"<sup>36</sup>.

Marxist science teaches that historical experience must be used knowledgeably. "Our strength has been and will continue to be," Lenin commented, "being able, completely soberly, to take into consideration the most difficult defeats, learning from their experience that which must be changed in our everyday reality... This is interesting and important not only from the point of view of theoretical truth, but also from the practical aspect. It is impossible to learn how to resolve our tasks by new methods today if our experience of yesterday has not opened our eyes to the incorrectness of the old methods"<sup>37</sup>.

Lenin's works provide a model of the organic combination of historical experience, concrete analysis of the concrete situation, and the determination of the tasks of the revolutionary class and its party. A very important requirement, which was mandatory when comparing the experience of various countries for the purpose of learning lessons, was, in his opinion, "the clarification of the question: are the historical eras of the development of the countries being compared comparable?"<sup>38</sup>. Historical parallels taken from different, incomparable eras were viewed by Lenin as a distortion of the historical perspective, inasmuch as they are made contrary to the Marxist method of generalizing historical experience and represent a mixing of phenomena which are different according to their place in history, which are incompatible and different in their nature.

When analyzing the social phenomena and events in Russia, Lenin saw in them both their uniqueness and that which was common, repetitive, and inherent in other countries. Taking into consideration the experience of European socialism and European democracy, he attempted to prove the necessity of creating an independent workers political party. The comparison of the experience of European social democracy with the concrete conditions of Russian reality helped him to substantiate the strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik party, and to clarify the status and the striving of the classes in Russia. "Social democracy in Russia," Lenin wrote in 1913, "is formed by relying entirely upon the experience of the older countries, that is, Europe, and on the theoretical expression of that experience, namely Marxism"<sup>39</sup>.

Lenin creatively used the experience of European social democracy and its revolutionary wing, and the lessons of the European bourgeois revolutions. Whereas the Mensheviks, the liquidators, borrowing the experience of Europe, took from it that which corresponded to their opportunistic essence and to their dogmatic thinking, and therefore concentrated their attention on its weak aspects, Lenin and the Bolsheviks called for not the obscuring of those aspects, but, rather, the revealing of them to the Russian workers, so that the working masses of Russia could "learn from the experience of the older movement, learn what not to imitate"<sup>40</sup>.

The experience of the Paris Commune, which was thoroughly analyzed by Lenin, helped the party of Bolsheviks in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. During the period of the preparation of October, Lenin called upon people to learn from the experience of the Commune, and the experience of the great movements of the oppressed class<sup>41</sup>, indicating at the same time that "the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, in another

situation, under other conditions, are continuing the cause of the Commune and confirm Marx's brilliant historical analysis"<sup>42</sup>.

It is well known that Lenin developed, on the threshold of the revolution, Marxist theory concerning insurrection as an art, and the accumulated experience of the French workers.

The experience of previous history, the experience of the revolutionary battles of 1905-1917 were used by Lenin, for example, when developing the new strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik party during the period between February 1917 and October 1917, in the struggle against the appeasers and the bourgeoisie. For example, analyzing the petty-bourgeois position of the Mensheviks, he found a historical analogy to it in the 1848 French revolution, in the position of Louis Blanc, and the position of the petty-bourgeois illusions that were prettified by what was alleged to be socialist phraseology<sup>43</sup>. Speaking out against the Trotzkiyite slogan "No tsar, but a workers government," Lenin considered it to be a game of "let's seize power" by the workers government, a Blancist adventure<sup>44</sup>, that is, here too he made use of the historical experience that had been accumulated by K. Marx and F. Engels.

In the history of the French revolutions Lenin found complete historical analogues to the tactics of the bourgeoisie to suppress the revolution and to its attempts to slander the Bolshevik party. The names of some of his articles -- "Looking for Napoleon" ("Poln. sobr. soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 32, p 61"), "Changeover of the Counterrevolution to the Offensive ('Jacobins Without a Nation')" (Vol 32, pp 215-217), "What Class Source Do the Cavaignacs Come From and 'Will Continue to Come' From?", Vol 32, pp 343-346, and "The Beginning of Bonapartism" (Vol 34, pp 48-52) -- speak for themselves.

In the course of the preparation for and the carrying out of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin provided truly classical models of the generalization and use of the historical experience of the previous revolutions, and placed that experience at the service of the cause of the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution<sup>45</sup>. Whereas for the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries the experience of world history, the experience of the French revolutions, was nothing, for Lenin the great lessons of the past were a very valuable acquisition for the worldwide workers movement, and the socialist revolution was the successor of all that was the best in the previous development. It was precisely for that reason that he said that "we are standing on the shoulders of the French Commune and the many years of development of German social democracy"<sup>46</sup>, and that the Soviet authority was proceeding along the path "indicated by the entire experience of the greatest populist revolutions throughout the world"<sup>47</sup>.

As the successor of the Paris Commune and the entire revolutionary experience of the international workers movement, the Great October Socialist Revolution tremendously enriched the experience of the Commune and raised it to an unprecedented height, revealing the chief natural laws underlying socialist revolution. Emphasizing the great historical significance of the world's first victorious proletarian revolution, Lenin at the same time also pointed out that "Marxism, as the only correct revolutionary theory, truly had been

painfully won by Russia as a result of half a century's history of unprecedented tortures and sacrifices, unprecedented revolutionary heroism, incredible energy and the unselfishness of the searching, instruction, tests in the practical situation, disappointments, verification, and the comparison with Europe's experience," and that Russia especially greedily and successfully assimilated the corresponding "last word" of the American and European political experience<sup>48</sup>. In its turn, the historical experience of the CPSU during the period of the party's struggle for the establishment of Soviet authority and its consolidation, thanks to Lenin's tremendous theoretical and practical activity, absorbed all that was most valuable from worldwide revolutionary practice.

The great successes, like the defeats, gave the Russian proletariat and its party real and very beneficial lessons in historical dialectics, lessons for understanding, and the skills and arts needed for waging a political struggle and finding methods and means for gaining victory over the class enemy.

In the course of the struggle against the autocracy and capitalism, the party of Bolsheviks that was created by Lenin paid attention first of all to the chief enemy of Bolshevism within the workers movement -- opportunism in all its forms -- striving to isolate it from the workers, from all the working masses. The Bolsheviks opposed to the petty-bourgeois vagueness of the opportunists the unity and consolidation of their own ranks, the iron discipline of their party. The discipline of the Bolshevik party at the most difficult stages of history, to use Lenin's definition, was maintained, verified, and reinforced, "first of all, by the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its resoluteness, self-sacrifice, and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to communicate with others, to draw closer to them, and to a certain degree, if you will, to fuse together with the broad mass of the workers, primarily the proletarians, but also with mass of the nonproletarian workers. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership being carried out by that vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses, by their own experience, are convinced of that correctness"<sup>49</sup>. These Leninist principles provide in a compact but voluminous form the theoretical generalization of the entire history of Bolshevism. They contain a concentrated expression of the historical experience of the Russian Communist Party from its inception until the world-historical victories in October 1917 and in the civil war against foreign and domestic counterrevolution. The long historical experience, the difficult labor of the Lenin-led nucleus of the Bolshevik party guaranteed its leading, guiding position in the revolution, in the Soviet state that had been created by the creativity of the working masses, and then in the building of a new socialist society.

The experience of the CPSU was generalized in the decisions of its congresses and conferences and the plenums of the Central Committee. Based upon Marxist-Leninist methodology, those decisions are the continuation and development of Leninist theory as applicable to the new historical conditions. Whereas Marxism became the concentrated expression of the historical experience of the past century, the historical experience of our century finds its theoretical generalization in Leninism, in the documents of the CPSU and the fraternal communist parties.

In the international communist movement it is generally acknowledged that the CPSU, at all stages in its history, absorbed, enriched, and underwent the world-historical experience, and enriched it with the experience of a gigantic country that was populated by dozens of nationalities and national groups that were located at various stages in their historical development. Having been the trailblazer on new paths of social development and having achieved what are at the present time the highest forms of maturity of the new social formation, the CPSU has been making an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and to the collective experience of the worldwide communist movement.

The experience of the CPSU in creating the new type of party, in the development of its strategy and tactics, and in the guidance of the proletariat and its allies in the three Russian revolutions, in the course of the building of the Soviet state and the new socialist society on the territory of a tremendous country with different economic, social, national, and cultural conditions, provides an extremely large amount of aid for the communist and workers parties that are operating at the present time, in a different political situation.

The 80-year historical experience of the CPSU convincingly proves that what has always been and continues to be a very important compass in our party's activity is the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which is illuminated by the bright light of the new, universally rich experience of the working class. That theory helps the proletarians of the entire world to understand the natural law that underlies what is occurring and to gain a clearer awareness of the goal in their struggle. Historical experience, as Lenin indicated, reveals not only the necessity to define the new tasks and the particular form of the struggle, but also the re-examination of the party's program<sup>50</sup>.

Historical experience has confirmed that the existence of the combative Marxist-Leninist party is a very important natural law underlying the victorious struggle against the exploiters.

Only that kind of party is capable of developing a scientifically substantiated program in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and of determining the forms, methods, and means of carrying out that program.

Lenin pointed out that there is nothing more erroneous than the opinion to the effect that the historical experience of the CPSU, the experience of the Russian revolution, has "very little similarity with Western European relations"<sup>51</sup>. He felt that both the experience of utterly bold offensive, and the ability to retreat in the revolutionary procedure was extremely beneficial<sup>52</sup>.

Only that kind of party is capable of helping the proletariat and its allies to develop sufficient consciousness, ideological integrity, selflessness, and persistence which will guarantee the victory of the socialist revolution, the defense of its gains, and the building of a socialist society. V. I. Lenin

wrote, "We see in an independent, irreconcilably Marxist party of the revolutionary proletariat the sole pledge of the victory of socialism and the path to victory that is freest of any vacillations"<sup>53</sup>.

Only that kind of party can train and can promote from the ranks of the proletariat and its allies the cadres of the new socialist state, and can guarantee the correct interrelationship between the party, occupational, and other social organizations of the proletariat and the agencies of the socialist state that resolve the extremely difficult tasks of building a new socialist society.

The historical experience of the CPSU has also confirmed the Marxist truth to effect that the putting to an end of the dominance of the exploiter classes is impossible without revolution, in whatever form it occurs, and that, between capitalist and socialist society, there lies a period of revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter, and that during that period the state cannot be anything other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat; that there can be no middle ground, other than the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat, as is attested to by historical experience and Marxist science. "Every dream concerning some third situation," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is the reactionary lamentation of the petty bourgeois"<sup>54</sup>.

Historical experience has shown that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat naturally develops into a nationwide state, that the building of socialism, especially in its mature forms, occupies a rather prolonged period of time.

Marxist-Leninist methodology proceeds from the fact that the recognition of the general line, the general law, does not free the revolutionary or the researcher from the study of the zigzag nature of the historical path or the uniqueness of its development. We are speaking, understandably, about that uniqueness that exerts a substantial influence upon social development. Marxist historical science studies all the varied manifestations of the historical activity of classes, parties, and individuals. It deduces from concrete, partial, specific phenomena and facts the general principles and natural laws that govern social development, taking into consideration at such time that "every historical period has its own laws"<sup>55</sup>. The concrete analysis of the situation is the cornerstone of Leninist methodology in studying the historical experience of the CPSU, and its entire multifaceted activity.

That history, as K. Marx and F. Engels established, is the history of the struggle among the classes. And the more completely the people who make history understand its natural laws and its experience, the smaller the number of unforeseen consequences in the development of society and the lesser the influence exerted upon it by uncontrollable forces. The logical method of viewing history, according to Marx, "is nothing other than that very historical method, but one that has been freed of the historical form and of any interfering random factors. Wherever history begins, it is also necessary also for the course of thoughts to begin, and the future movement of that course will represent nothing else but the reflection of the historical process in an abstract and theoretically consistent form; it is a corrected

reflection, but one that has been reflected in conformity to the laws that are provided by the actual historical process itself..."<sup>57</sup>.

The brilliant discoveries made by Marx and Engels revealed the dependence of social consciousness upon social existence.

The works of Lenin, following the works of Marx and Engels, rise to the same rank of the generalization of historical revolutionary experience, without a consideration of which the active transformational activity to change the modern world is impossible.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Chernenko, K. U., "Narod i partiya yediny. Izbrannye rechi i stat'i" [The People and the Party Are United: Selected Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1984, p 14.
2. See VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 6, 1984, p 61.
3. See Krupskaya, N. K., "O Lenine. Sbornik statey i vystupleniy" [Lenin: Collection of Articles and Statements], 5th ed., Moscow, 1983, p 334.
4. See "Spravochnyy tom" [Reference Volume] to "Poln. sobr. soch. V. I. Lenina" [Complete Collected Works of V. I. Lenin], Part I, Moscow, 1978, pp 205-206, 208, 558.
5. See Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 239; Vol 41, pp 370-371.
6. Ibid., Vol 7, p 237.
7. Ibid., Vol 25, p 102.
8. Ibid., Vol 45, p 379.
9. See ibid., Vol 10, p 26.
10. See VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 6, 1984, p 61.
11. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 34, p 215.
12. See ibid., Vol 9, p 275; Vol 32, p 129; Vol 36, p 31; Vol 40, p 253; etc.
13. Ibid., Vol 6, p 24.
14. Ibid., Vol 33, p 48.
15. Marks [Marx], K., Engel's [Engels], F., "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 438.
16. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 9, p 275.
17. Ibid., Vol 33, p 36.

18. Ibid., Vol 14, p 374.
19. See ibid., Vol 33, p 48.
20. Ibid., Vol 40, p 45.
21. See ibid., Vol 24, p 1.
22. Ibid., Vol 44, p 42.
23. See ibid., Vol 29, pp 514-515.
24. See "KPSS V REZOLYUTSIYAKH I RESHENIYAKH S"YEZDOV, KONFERENTSIY I PLENUMOV TSK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committees], Vol 9, 8th ed., Moscow, 1972, p 345.
25. See "PLENUM TSENTRAL'NOGO KOMITETA KPSS 14-15 IYUNYA 1983 GODA. STENOGRAFICHESKIY OTCHET" [Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June 1983: Stenographic Report], Moscow, 1983, p 11.
26. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 41, p 65.
27. Ibid., Vol 36, p 3.
28. Ibid., Vol 37, pp 246-247.
29. ibid., Vol 31, p 132.
30. Ibid., Vol 26, p 142.
31. Ibid., Vol 41, p 7.
32. See ibid., Vol 44, p 309.
33. Ibid., Vol 36, p 313.
34. Ibid., Vol 14, p 26.
35. Ibid., Vol 36, p 313.
36. Ibid., Vol 31, p 134.
37. Ibid., Vol 44, p 205.
38. Ibid., Vol 25, p 268.
39. Ibid., Vol 24, p 223.
40. Ibid., Vol 25, p 110.

41. See *ibid.*, Vol 33, p 48.
42. *Ibid.*, p 56.
43. See the article "Louis Blanc-ism," *ibid.*, Vol 31, p 127.
44. See *ibid.*, pp 137, 138, 249, etc.
45. For more details, see: *VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS*, No 8, 1980, pp 43-55.
46. See Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 36, p 50.
47. *Ibid.*, Vol 35, p 271.
48. See *ibid.*, Vol 41, pp 7-8.
49. *Ibid.*, p 7.
50. See *ibid.*, Vol 4, p 171; Vol 13, p 79; Vol 16, p 195.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol 30, pp 326-327.
52. See *ibid.*, Vol 45, p 137.
53. *Ibid.*, Vol 9, p 275.
54. *Ibid.*, Vol 37, p 398.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 167.
56. *Ibid.*, Vol 40, p 253.
57. Marks, K., Engel's, F., "Soch.", Vol 13, p 497.

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## NATIONAL

### STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS OF LENINIST HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 10, Oct 84 (signed to press 28 Sep 84) pp 44-52

[Article by M. A. Varshavchik, doctor of historical sciences, professor (Kiev), under rubric "Discussions: Problems of CPSU Historical Experience (Discussion begun by the publication of an article by N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov -- see VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 6, 1984)": "The Question of the Structure and Functions of the Historical Experience of the CPSU"]

[Text] The discussion of the problem of the study and use of the historical experience of the CPSU is vitally important: the magazine has directed its attention to a principal task in party-historical science. The authors of the article being discussed proceed from the assumption that the resolution of this task presupposes the clarification of a number of questions pertaining to methodological theory. Sharing the basic principles in the articles, we shall dwell on questions of the structure and functions of historical experience, primarily the historical experience of the Leninist party.

N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov, remarking on the complexity and multifaceted nature of the concept "historical experience," isolate its various facets. At the same time, it seems to us, there is an opportunity for a further deepening of the analysis of its structure, particularly in the light of modern theory of social information<sup>1</sup>.

In social information, one isolates information about the past, the present, and the future (planned and forecast [information])<sup>2-3</sup>. Information about the past, which we call "historical information," acts as one of the essential factors in the vital activity of society. It includes the experience of historical development, which experience is studied by people.

In the broad sense, historical experience contains an aspect that goes beyond the confines of historical information, that is, people's activity itself, history as "the activity of man who is pursuing his goals"<sup>4</sup>. And it is in this sense that historical experience is social practice. In this sense Lenin spoke of the accomplishment of experience<sup>5</sup>, "practical experience"<sup>6</sup>, "verification by experience, by practice"<sup>7</sup>, etc.

In this aspect, Lenin employed the concept of experience as being identical with the concept of history and viewed them as material for theoretical interpretation and further practical steps. Developing the plan for the creation of a new type of proletarian party and explaining the special conditions under which the revolutionary party in Russia was created, he wrote, "The history of socialism and democracy in Western Europe, the history of the Russian revolutionary move, and the experience of our workers movement -- that is the material that we must possess in order to develop the purposeful organization and tactics for our party"<sup>8</sup>.

The understanding of historical experience as real history is fundamentally important, since it emphasizes its objective content, irrespective of various interpretations of it. It is that experience which, to use Lenin's expression, "is not created artificially"<sup>9</sup>, which is "indisputable"<sup>10</sup>. Of course, the objectivity of the reflection of real experience, the reliability of the conclusions made from it, depend upon the subject of its study and use. Nothing else so influences the capability and even the desire of people to learn from history, as their class position, their class interest (this is revealed by N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov). But, out of the large number of possible interpretations of historical experience, only one can be true, can adequately reflect the content of the past that is to be reconstructed, and also its objective relationship with the present. The strength of Marxist-Leninist science and policy consists in that they rely upon the only objective, real experience of history. The same politicians who ignore it or who interpret it in a distorted way inevitably, sooner or later, are punished by history itself, and feel the effects upon themselves of the malicious irony "which is inherent in history"<sup>11</sup>.

methodologically speaking, the understanding of experience as real history determines the need to illuminate, in the works concerning historical experience, in the appropriate educational courses, and in propaganda, that practical activity of the Communist Party which serves as material for generalizing and forming experience as a cognitional and revolutionary-transformational category.

If one takes experience as the reflection of social practice in the consciousness of people (the level of that reflection can be different -- from the empirical, emotional to the theoretical) and views precisely that experience as the object of study, one can isolate two strata in it. The first is the studied, generalized real experience of people (masses, classes, parties), which takes on the form of knowledge. That experience, however, is by no means always or immediately introduced into people's practical activity or used by them. This forms a stratum of information that has already been acquired, but which is not yet being practically used. And it can be designated as "potential information," or "potential experience." With greater or lesser difficulties, in a greater or lesser volume, it is assimilated, used, and becomes "topical experience," or "expressed experience."

Thus, with broad interpretation, one can isolate in the concept of historical experience three types of experience: a) real; b) potential; and c) topical, expressed. The proposed representation of the structure of the concept being considered can be of importance for a more thorough definition of the place and role of party-historical science.

One can isolate here three tasks confronting party historians. First, the study and generalization of real historical experience, the giving to it of the form of scientific knowledge, that is, the development of potential historical information offered to the party, to the party organizations as is chief consumer.

Of course, the party itself, primarily, in the process of elaborating the political decisions, refers to the experience of social development, and enriches it. The party's experience is collective experience. It is such because it is elaborated by the revolutionary creativity of the masses, the working class, the entire party, and the organizations that are included in it. It is also collective because it is continuously generalized by the party itself, primarily at congresses and in the documents of its Central Committee. The consideration and use of historical experience is one of the methodological principles of party leadership. But the party expects from its historians also a fundamental generalization of historical experience, and that which is taken in a deep time frame.

Party-historical science itself is by no means indifferent to the manner in which the results of scientific research is used. The party expects science to provide recommendations for practical life. The requirement made with regard to all social scientists, as formulated by Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, pertains in full measure to party historians: "The party hopes that, as a result of scientific research, we shall see the more frequent appearance of solid, practical recommendations"<sup>12</sup>. The authors of historical works cannot fail to assign themselves the task not only of stating the existence of a particular kind of experience, but also of demonstrating the conditions, capabilities, and methods for actualizing it, for making effective use of it. And that constitutes the second task of the party historians.

Thirdly, the task of science lies in studying the extremely instructive experience of the discovery, scientific interpretation, and practical use of historical experience by Lenin, by the party, and the principles, methods, and means of using it.

And there is one more comment concerning the question of the concept and structure of historical experience. N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov offer their explanation of a concept that is frequently encountered in the works of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, in historical literature, in articles on current affairs, and in general political use -- the concept of "the lessons of history." However, that concept also allows other interpretations. They consider the lessons of history to be "an intermediate link between 'objective history' and theoretically interpreted historical experience"<sup>13</sup>. But one cannot make recommendations or conclusions from previous development without previously giving it a theoretical interpretation. Without that interpretation, history cannot teach anything, cannot provide a lesson for anyone. On the contrary, Lenin's entire practice attests to the fact that his deducing of the lessons of history was preceded by a colossal amount of work to carry out the theoretical generalization of past experience, and to analyze

the comparability of historical situations. And one must not be confused by the fact that Lenin extracted lessons from recent, fresh events. For Lenin, the learning of lessons was always preceded by scrutiny under the profoundly scientific, brilliant light of theory, by the interpretation of historical phenomena.

The composite analysis of Lenin's statements attests to the fact that by the lessons of history he understood not the "intermediate," but the final, graphic conclusions from the previous experience. It is for good reason that, in addition to the expression "lessons of history," he used the expression "the lessons of experience"<sup>14</sup>. Lenin also employed the concepts of the experience of history and the lessons of history as being of the same order. Substantiating the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and citing for that purpose the experience of all the great revolutions, he wrote, "That historical experience of all the revolutions, that world-historical -- economic and political -- lesson was summed up by Marx, who provided a brief, sharp, accurate, and clear formula: the dictatorship of the proletariat"<sup>15</sup>. And if one differentiates between the category of the lessons of history and the category of the experience of history, one should understand by the former, in our opinion, the conclusions from historical experience that were made in a form that allows using them in the practical situation.

And one final comment with regard to the question of the structure of historical experience. N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov recommend differentiating experience on the basis of its subject, content, and form, and isolating the positive and negative experience. Thus, in essence, they pose the task of classifying the types of historical experience. The task is truly an important one. The posing of that task orients the researchers toward the study of that experience in all its variety. Various classificational "cut cause no objections.

Every scientific classification proceeds from two principles: it must rely upon objective attributes that are inwardly inherent in the articles being classified, and it must correspond to definite purposes of study. In accordance with the latter principle, one can employ various classificational systems if they have an objective substantiation.

Among them an important place is occupied by the subdivision of the historical experience of the CPSU, which is taken as the generalization of its social practice, into types of party activity that correspond to various objects<sup>16</sup>.

At various stages of party history, its activity was constructed on the basis of the strategic goal confronting the party, and the structure of the party's composite experience also changed. Thus, the conversion of the party into the ruling one brought into the foreground its organizing activity in the economic area. In the historically invaluable experience of the construction and improvement of mature socialism, one isolates the following kinds of experience: the experience of party construction under the new conditions; the experience of the struggle to intensify the economy and to increase its effectiveness; the experience of managing the social development of society; the experience of the improvement of the political system of the society of developed socialism; the experience of the party's ideological, mass-political

work; and the experience of the foreign-policy activity of the CPSU. The party's experience in each of these areas, undoubtedly, deserves the most careful and special study. And, finally, each type of the historical experience of the CPSU is so rich in volume and content that it presupposes its further classification within that type, and the thorough generalization of each of its varieties. As a whole the increase in the party's guiding role as a subject of the historical process is accompanied by an expansion of the scope of the objects of its activity, and this has an effect upon complicating the structure of its historical experience and upon the enrichment of its content.

Let us now dwell on the theoretically and practically important question of the functions of the historical experience of the CPSU. In historical literature this question has been developed poorly<sup>17</sup>, and the attention toward it was not sharpened in the article that is being discussed. The problem of the functions of social information has been developed considerably more completely<sup>18</sup>. An analysis of the functions of social information helps to mark the paths for the resolution of the question of the functions of the historical experience of the CPSU.

#### Practical-Political Function of the Historical Experience of the CPSU

This function is one of the manifestations of the administrative role of social information as applicable to the specifics of party leadership and is expressed in the participation of historical experience in the practical-political activity of the CPSU. Its participation has many aspects. Historical experience is called upon by the party for the purpose of learning and revealing the essence of modern phenomena and situations, to that large degree to which history in general is linked with modern life and is existent in the present<sup>19</sup>. This use of historical experience is determined by historism as an inseparable attribute of the political philosophy and methodology of Marxism-Leninism.

Relying upon theory, the party uses historical experience when determining its political course. Lenin, explaining the sources of developing the party's political decisions, pointed out that they are substantiated "by many factors -- by theory, by historical references, by an analysis of the entire political situation, etc."<sup>20</sup>. Indicating wherein lies the strength of those decisions, he emphasized that the motivation for them is taken "not from naked and unprovable general places..., but from the history of the movement, from political experience..."<sup>21</sup>.

But Lenin constantly warned -- and one should devote special attention to this -- that historical experience can serve as the basis for developing political decisions if that historical experience is taken concretely, if its applicability to the definite present-day situation has been proven. He pointed out that "every general historical consideration to be applied to an individual instance, without any special analysis of the conditions of that specific instance, becomes a phrase"<sup>22</sup>. In general, there is no abstract experience that is suitable for all instances. And every attempt to bring in historical argumentation with the proof of its applicability to the concrete situation, to the concrete decision, cannot be of any benefit whatsoever.

Lenin loved to repeat Plekhanov's expression, "Truth is concrete," but he demonstrated the insolency of the outwardly effective references by Plekhanov to the experience of history, when those references were made without an analysis of the comparability of the situations in the past and in the present, when Plekhanov resorted to "exaggeratedly strained" argumentation<sup>23</sup>.

It must be admitted here that the category of "the concrete experience of history" and the requirement that was advanced by Lenin -- the requirement to view every principle in relationship to it<sup>24</sup> -- even though they are mentioned very frequently, in our opinion they have proven to be insufficiently assimilated. This manifests itself in the fact that frequently the recommendations that are contained in party-historical works are completely devoid specifically of concreteness, which is understood as the analysis of the conditions of suitability of past experience in the present-day situation. The fact that Lenin's requirement to view every principle in relationship to the concrete experience of history has been insufficiently assimilated manifests itself also in another way. Frequently we encounter historical research in which various events of the past are described in detail and thoroughly, but they are described as though the authors are contemporaneous with the events, as though they have no opportunity for making a retrospective evaluation in the light of subsequent experience, although the consequences and the theoretical and practical significance of the major social measures that were carried out by the party are not clear. And so, in these works, the essence and significance of past experience remain unrevealed.

Historical experience with respect to policy carries out a correcting, regulating function. Taking consideration of that experience determines such an important feature of party policy as its realism. The party at the present-day stage of development devotes special attention to assuring that, when we develop the political course, we neither allow ourselves to rush on ahead nor mark time, but, rather, make the optimal use of the tremendous capabilities existing in the society of developed socialism. Also, the party, as is justifiably noted in the article by N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov, takes into Leninist consideration not only the positive, but also the negative experience, boldly reveals the contradictions that are inherent in developed socialism and the unresolved problems, and specifies the ways to resolve them.

When considering the practical-political function of the historical experience of the CPSU, one sees clearly the fusion in it of history and present-day life not only in the sense of the applicability (under definite conditions) of the experience of the past to the present, but also in another aspect. It is untrue, it would seem, to imagine the experience of history only as the experience of the remote past, and if not opposing it, then sharply delimiting it from present-day experience. The experience of modern development is also historical experience which is not separable, either theoretically or practically, from the experience of the past. It is theoretically not separable because "that which occurs with greater and greater rapidity before our eyes is also history"<sup>25</sup>. And it is practically not separable because, in order to carry out the political leadership of society, the party uses the fused, integrated experience of the past and the present. The most attentive attitude toward the experience of present-day life is a Leninist tradition that is carefully preserved and multiplied by the party.

Of course, the evaluation of historical experience in complete volume, in all its significance, is facilitated if there is a clear designation of the causal relationships between the phenomena and their consequences, if the developmental process that is being studied is, in one form or another, completed. Both the capabilities and the methods of studying the past and modern experience differ. One of the basic methods of historical research -- the method of retrospection -- acquires special importance when the processes that act as the object of cognition are those that have been limited to a definite chronological framework. But the generalization of the present-day experience -- and, particularly and especially, advanced experience -- in party work, and the dissemination of that experience, constitute one of the responsible tasks of party historians.

#### Scientific-Cognitive (Heuristic) Function of the Historical Experience of the CPSU

This function lies in the role that is played by historical experience in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, in the cognition of the underlying natural laws and tendencies of social development. This role of historical experience was profoundly revealed in the works of Lenin, and is illuminated on their basis in Marxist literature. The significance of historical experience for the development of theory is mentioned in the article by N. N. Maslov and V. S. Ovchinnikov. But we shall limit ourselves to certain remarks.

It would be incorrect to interpret Lenin's well-known statement to the effect that Marx's theory "is a summing up of experience, a summing up that has been illuminated by a profound political philosophy and a rich knowledge of history"<sup>26</sup> in the sense that theory as a whole can be reduced to the generalization of experience. In this statement by Lenin and in other similar ones that he made, he emphasizes the relationship that theory has with experience, with practical life, and indicates that theory rests upon practice and is enriched by it. But the theory evolves, to use V. I. Lenin's expression, from the totality of revolutionary experience and from the "revolutionary minds of all the countries of the world"<sup>27</sup>. Marxism arose by resting on class and gnosiological roots, on the experience of the revolutionary, primarily the workers, movement, and on the best achievements of the human mind, which Lenin defined as the sources of Marxism. After being formed, theory develops on the basis of its own internal laws, the laws of cognitive succession. It is the knowledge of the natural laws that underlie social development, knowledge that has been logically and factually substantiated and that is being verified by practice.

The relationship between theory and experience is the relationship between theory and social practice. That relationship is of a particularly dialectic nature and constitutes an inner source for the development of theory. Every science -- and in this regard Marxism-Leninism does not constitute any exception -- develops only it comes up against new facts and phenomena that require a new explanation. The viability, truthfulness, and effectiveness of science is determined and verified by its ability to reveal new phenomena, to detect new experience, and, relying upon its principles, to explain them.

History provides a large number of examples in which social theories have perished because they proved to be incapable of "recooking" the real experience of social development. One of the examples of this is the Narodnik sociology. The strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in that, by its very essence, it has been programmed to detect and perceive all that is new, and, if one can express it this way, constantly has new construction added onto it on the basis of its principles and as a result of the generalization of historical experience. If the theory is true, if it has been verified by social-historical practice, then the new experience (both that which was detected for the first time in the past, and that which is constantly brought in by life) does not "abolish," does not "reject" its basic principles, but, rather, in crystallized form, enriches it.

The resolution of the question of the relationship between theory and experience is of fundamental importance for the communist and workers parties. The inability or the lack of desire to take the new experience into consideration inevitably leads to slipping onto the positions of dogmatism, to a loss of the realistic vision of the status and prospects of the revolutionary process. Shying to the other side, the inability or the lack of desire to approach new experience from positions of the tried-and-true, basic principles of Marxism-Leninism leads to revisionism, to the rejection of those principles, to the declaration that they are "obsolete," "have outlived their day," etc., and to the theoretical disarming of the working class.

Models of the correct resolution of the question of the relationship between theory and experience are demonstrated by the Leninist party. A remarkable example of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism is the elaboration by the CPSU of the concept of developed socialism, which has absorbed the latest experience of the masses. "The strength of this concept," Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized in his speech at the jubilee plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Writers on 25 September 1984, "lies in that it makes it possible to define precisely the degree that we have achieved in the socioeconomic maturity of the new society, and to have a more exact idea of our immediate and long-range goals"<sup>28</sup>. The party devotes special attention to the combining of the achievements of theoretical thought and the data provided by experience when it is developing the new version of the CPSU Program. "The Program, as one can already see," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said, "is being supplemented by a number of new principles that reflect the conclusions of present-day Marxist-Leninist thought and the experience of our party and the fraternal parties, and the reality of worldwide processes"<sup>29</sup>.

As was already noted, a study of the generalization and use by Lenin and by the party of historical experience is an important task of party-historical science. Unfortunately, the number of works devoted to the history of the theoretical activity of the CPSU is insufficient, especially in the light of the decisions of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Of course, it is not within the capabilities of the historians to carry out a detailed examination of the history of the development, for example, of philosophical or economic thought. But the composite theoretical activity of the party, the development by the party of theory on the basis of historical experience, the conversion of theory into practice, and the confirmation of the truthfulness of Marxism-Leninism by the new concrete experience of history

constitute the object of party-historical research. The effectiveness of that research will increase if it is carried out in collaboration with economists, philosophers, sociologists, and representatives of other areas of social sciences.

#### Indoctrinal Function of the Historical Experience of the CPSU

This function consists in the tremendous role that the party's historical experience plays in the communist -- political-philosophical, political-ideological, and moral -- indoctrination of the workers, in the formation and development of their political culture, and in increasing the individual's rate of participation of the individual in social life.

The indoctrinal importance of the propagandizing of the party's historical experience as one of the basic areas in its ideological activity has been substantiated in the works of Lenin and the party's documents. That importance has been revealed in scientific, propagandistic, and educational-methodology literature more thoroughly than the other functions of the party-historical experience. At the present time, however, we shall touch upon only certain factors in the use of the experience of the CPSU for indoctrinal purposes.

The high and ever-growing authority of the Communist Party, the achievements of its theory and the successes of its policy, and the advent of the USSR into the stage of mature socialism are extraordinarily increasing the interest in its historical experience. Historical information is increasingly becoming the spiritual need of the socialist individual and is exerting an increasingly active influence upon people's consciousness and behavior. There has been an increase in the role of historical experience in the formation of the value system of Soviet citizens. To a high degree this is promoted by measures that are being carried out on the basis of recent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, measures that are perceived with profound satisfaction and are supported by the Soviet nation.

But onto the historical information that is received as a result of social inheritance is applied people's personal social experience, which the individual or the collective extracts from direct contact with the environment, in conformity with his or its place in social relations. This personal experience -- sometimes consciously, and sometimes unconsciously for the person -- can promote the objective cognition and correct use of historical experience, but can also hinder that. And, once again, as with the practical-political application of historical experience, its use for indoctrinal purposes (and this is required by the party) must be of a concrete nature. Indoctrination based on the party's historical experience, on its historical traditions, must be directed toward a concrete object -- the social segment, collective, or individual.

Historical experience, furthermore, like social information as a whole, operates most effectively if it is employed in conformity with a definite purpose that is advanced by the subject of its use. Despite the entire indisputable objective value of the composite historical experience of the CPSU, in it, in the light of the tasks to be resolved by the party at a

definite stage in development, special value is attached to a particular aspect of it. Stating it differently: in the propagandizing of the historical experience of the CPSU it is important to know how to isolate the facets that are especially important ones when considering the goals that are confronting the party at the given stage.

And there is one more thing. The party has always considered that the most effective, most powerful means of convincing the masses is the indoctrinating of them by using their own experience. As is well known, this peculiarity of the Bolsheviks' tactics was repeatedly pointed out by Lenin. But this in no way means that the party has ever passively observed the manner in which the masses learn from experience. The art of political indoctrination here always manifested itself in the ability to capture correctly the moment when the accumulation of the masses' own experience has made it possible to bring them to the consciousness of that experience. Opening up the eyes of the masses to their experience, the party, as it were, returned it to the masses in a revealed form, in the form of lessons of history that are accessible to the consciousness of the masses.

The comments that have been expressed with regard to the indoctrinal function of the historical experience of the CPSU, it would seem, can be of importance for party-political research from the point of view in which they illuminate the indoctrinal activity of the party and in which that research itself fulfills the task of the communist indoctrination of the workers.

The discussion of the problem "The Historical Experience of the CPSU," without a doubt, will contribute to raising the scientific level and practical significance of the works on the history of the party, their role in the analysis, generalization, and practical use of invaluable wealth -- the party experience that has been accumulated over the years of the party's transformational activity. That experience is tremendous: history does not know of any comparable examples when a political organization has exerted such an influence upon the entire course of social development, as the party of Lenin has exerted and continues to exert. The encompassment of the historical experience of the CPSU in all its complexity and multifaceted nature must be served by the clarification of the theoretical-methodological aspects of the problem being discussed, including the elaboration of clear-cut ideas concerning the structure and functions of historical experience.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Defining the essence of social information, Academician V. G. Afanas'yev writes, "The information circulating in society, which is used in the administration of social processes, is 'social information.' It represents the knowledge, communiques, information about the social form of the movement of matter and about all its other forms to the degree in which they are used by society and are drawn into the orbit of social life" (Afanas'yev, V. G., "Sotsial'naya informatsiya i upravleniye obshchestvom" [Social Information and the Administration of Society], Moscow, 1975, p 39).

2-3. See Afanas'yev, V. G., Ursul, A. D., "The Essence, Types, Properties,

and Functions of Social Information," in the book "Nauchnoye upravleniye obshchestvom" [Scientific Administration of Society], Moscow, 1977, p 162.

4. Marks [Marx], K., Engel's [Engels], F., "Soch." [Works], Vol 2, p 102.
5. See Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 43 p 137.
6. Ibid., p 96.
7. Ibid., p 240.
8. Ibid., Vol 4, p 189.
9. Ibid., Vol 41, p 255.
10. Ibid., Vol 36, p 199.
11. Ibid., Vol 37, p 162.
12. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14--15 iyunya 1983 goda" [Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 34.
13. VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 6, 1984, p 66.
14. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 43, p 200.
15. Ibid., Vol 36, p 196.
16. Subdivision of activity into individual objects is employed as one of the possible classifications of activity (see "Marksistsko-leninskaya teoriya istoricheskogo protsessa" [Marxist-Leninist Theory of the Historical Process], Moscow, 1981, p 85).
17. For one of the attempts to view it from the general methodological point of view, see: Mogil'nitskiy, B. G., "O prirode istoricheskogo poznaniya" [The Nature of Historical Cognition], Tomsk, 1978, pp 180-186.
18. See Ursul, A. D., "Problema informatsii v sovremennoy naune. Filosofskiye ocherki" [The Problem of Information in Modern Science: Philosophical Essays], Moscow, 1975, pp 221-225.
19. For more details about the relationship between history and modern life, see Ivanov, V. V., "Sootnosheniye istorii i sovremennosti kak metodologicheskaya problema" [The Correlation of History and Modern Life as a Methodological Problem], Moscow, 1973; Ivanov, V. V., "Istorizm v leninskoy metodologii nauchnogo issledovaniya" [Historism in the Leninist Methodology of Scientific Research], Moscow, 1982; Varshavchik, M. A., Spirin, L. M., "O nauchnykh osnovakh izucheniya istorii KPSS" [The Scientific Principles of the Study of the History of the CPSU], Moscow, 1978; Mogil'nitskiy, B. G., op. cit.; Zhukov, Ye. M., "Ocherki metodologii

istorii" [Essays on the Methodology of History], Moscow, 1980; etc.

20. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 11, p 246.
21. Ibid., Vol 13, p 51.
22. Ibid., Vol 35, p 373.
23. See ibid., Vol 12, p 253.
24. See ibid., Vol 49, p 329.
25. Ibid., Vol 3, p 632.
26. Ibid., Vol 33, p 29.
27. Ibid., Vol 27, p 11.
28. PRAVDA, 26 September 1984.
29. Chernenko, K. U., "Narod i partiya yediny. Izbrannye rechi i stat'i" [The Nation and the Party Are United: Selected Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1984, p 457.

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/Report by Comrade K. M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan on 29 September 1984: "On the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization Stemming From the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee 'On Further Improvement in Party Guidance of the Komsomol and Enhancement of Its Role in the Communist Education of Youth' and From Addresses by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Problems of Party Work With Youth"\* --Related material published in JPRS UPS-84-092 on 24 Oct 84--]

/Text/ Comrades!

Workers in Azerbaijan, as well as in our entire country, welcomed the award of the Order of Lenin and of the third "Serp i Molot" [Hammer and Sickle] gold medal to Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, with a sense of great joy and satisfaction.

The homeland's high award represents the recognition of the outstanding services of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko in party and state activity for the formulation and implementation of Leninist domestic and foreign policy, development of economy and culture and strengthening of the defensive capacity of the USSR and of his great personal contribution to the consolidation of peace and security of nations.

Permit me on your behalf and on behalf of all the republic's party members and workers to warmly and sincerely congratulate dear Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, loyal and steadfast continuuer of the cause of the great Lenin, on his honorary award and to wish him robust health, a long life and great, new achievements in the fight for the cause of communism.

The anniversary plenum of the USSR Union of Writers held a few days ago was an important event in the country's social and political life and a holiday of Soviet literature and our entire culture. The brilliant and profoundly meaningful speech

\*The report is printed according to an abbreviated shorthand record.

by Comrade K. U. Chernenko lent special significance to the plenum. It highly appreciated the services of multinational Soviet literature in the construction and improvement of developed socialism and most clearly formulated not only the immediate and long-term tasks of men of letters, but of the entire artistic intelligentsia as well.

The recommendations by Konstantin Ustinovich should form the basis for the intensification of the work of party organizations and the Komsomol on the artistic and esthetic education of youth.

Comrades, you know that not so long ago the Central Committee of our party examined the problem "On Further Improvement in Party Guidance of the Komsomol and Enhancement of Its Role in the Communist Education of Youth" and adopted an appropriate decree.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee is a document of great political and theoretical significance. The conclusions and principles of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko expressed at the all-army conference of secretaries of Komsomol organizations, at the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee and in other addresses received a concentrated expression and further development in this decree.

The Leninist teaching of the role and place of the Communist Youth League in the construction of the new society was enriched with important propositions with reference to the stage of developed socialism. The CPSU Central Committee generalized the vast experience in the guidance of this mass youth organization accumulated by the party, determined an integral program of actions of party organizations for improving the guidance of the Komsomol and strengthening the ideological, political, labor and moral education of the growing generation and concentrated the attention of the party, soviets, public organizations, the Komsomol, economic bodies and the entire public on the key tasks in the formation of the person in the society of developed socialism.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and addresses by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko were met with a unanimous approval in the republic, as in the entire country. Multifaceted work on the explanation and popularization of these party documents and on the implementation of the tasks set by the party was expanded everywhere.

The decree of the Central Committee is being actively discussed in the course of the present report and election campaign at party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations and at plenums of oblast, city and rayon party committees. Speakers make many business-like proposals and suggestions aimed at improving party guidance of the Komsomol, refining the communist education of youth and raising the level of activity of Komsomol organizations.

Today we must thoroughly discuss the state of party guidance of the Komsomol in the republic and on this basis develop a specific program of our actions for the further improvement in the education of young men and women and enhancement of the role of the Communist Youth League in Azerbaijan in this matter.

It should be especially stressed that the present generation of the Soviet people and, of course, Komsomol members and youth are entrusted with tasks of historical importance. This generation is the first to join in the practical accomplishment of tasks concerning the improvement in the society of developed socialism. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted in his speech at the anniversary plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Writers, it was necessary "to bring all the aspects of life of Soviet society in correspondence with the highest, most demanding and, of course, scientifically substantiated ideas of socialism."

The other task is to strengthen peace on earth, to protect mankind from thermo-nuclear destruction threatened by American imperialism and to give international help to nations fighting for their national independence and social progress.

Such are the program goals set by the party. With a full understanding of its historical responsibility for the fate of socialism and peace the Leninist Komsomol is called upon to check its policy and activities with these goals.

With the increase in the scale of the problems solved by the party and the country and intensification of imperialist pressure on socialist society work with youth becomes ever more complex and responsible demanding ever greater moral forces and knowledge from educators. Not a single party organization, not a single party member, can be aloof from it.

Today at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan we must note with satisfaction that this specific nature of work on the communist education of youth at the present stage is fully taken into consideration by party organizations and party committees. In recent years the Bureau of the Central Committee and oblast, city and rayon party committees have begun to more actively deal with youth problems, to more profoundly scrutinize the activity of Komsomol organizations and to more often examine problems concerning party guidance of the Komsomol at plenums and bureaus of party committees. In particular, the decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan on the Geokchayskiy Rayon Party Organization and on the work of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Azerbaijan with Komsomol cadres, as well as others, were of great importance.

The annual meetings of members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and of the republic's party aktiv with students, meetings of party workers with Komsomol cadres and the aktiv, city and rayon gatherings of party members working in the Komsomol, their invitation to plenums of party committees and the participation of Komsomol members and youth in the work of open party meetings have become good traditions.

Party organizations improve the forms and methods of guiding the Komsomol, try to efficiently utilize the forces and capabilities of young party members in this matter and increase the demands on them. A total of 46,000 party members now work in the republic's Komsomol organizations. They head more than 60 percent of the primary Komsomol organizations and constitute two-thirds of the staff of key election bodies of oblast, city and rayon organizations. They maintain active communication between the party and Komsomol members and are conductors of its policy among youth.

The practice of election of leading Komsomol cadres to the staff of elective party bodies has become a good school of their ideological training and political, business-like and moral growth. Almost one-half of the first secretaries of oblast, city and rayon Komsomol committees are now members of bureaus of party committees and every third secretary of a primary Komsomol organization is elected member of the party committee or party bureau.

Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh oblast party committees, Baku, Kirovabad, Sumgait, Mingechaur, Sheki and Lenkoran city committees and Nasiminskiy, Nizaminskiy, Astarinskiy, Bardinskiy, Dzhalilabadiy and other rayon party committees constantly scrutinize the activity of Komsomol organizations. A great deal of valuable experience in the guidance of the Komsomol has been accumulated by many primary party organizations.

The broad participation of Komsomol members and youth in the management of the country's and society's affairs is a concrete manifestation of their growing social and political activity. More than 16,000 young citizens in the republic have been elected to soviets of people's deputies, including 128 people, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and supreme soviets of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Nakhichevan ASSR. More than 73,000 young men and women form part of elective trade-union bodies and 44,7000 Komsomol members, of committees, posts and groups of people's control. Komsomol representatives are on the boards of a number of ministries, state committees and councils of production and agroindustrial associations and participate in the work of permanent production conferences.

Comrades! As before, labor education remains the basic, all-encompassing and most effective form of communist education of the growing generation. In Lenin's words, "only in labor together with workers and peasants is it possible to become a true communist." We steadfastly follow this legacy of V. I. Lenin. Komsomol members and youth have been drawn into an active solution of the most important national economic problems. They are entrusted with important and responsible tasks, their energy and creative search are directed toward an increase in production efficiency, strengthening of discipline and order and rise in the level of organization and young workers are made more answerable for the results of work.

Hundreds of thousands of young men and women now work in the republic's national economy. They comprise more than one-third of all the workers, including 41.5 percent in industry, 38.9 percent in construction and 34 percent in agriculture. We note with satisfaction that youth has made a substantial contribution to the dynamic increase in the republic's economic potential during the 1970's and to the advances made during the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The republic's youth, following the decisions of the 26th congress, subsequent plenums of the Central Committee of the party, the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade K. U. Chernenko's directives, concentrates its efforts on basic directions in the intensification of public production and acceleration of scientific and technical progress. More than 500,000 young men and women participate in the socialist competition "Shock Labor, Knowledge, Initiative and Creativity of Young People for the 11th Five-Year Plan." A total of 5,000 young production workers and 255 Komsomol-youth collectives have already reported on the fulfillment of the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan and have opened the account of the next five-year plan.

Thousands of envoys of Azerbaijan's Komsomol work beyond its borders, participating in the construction of the giants of modern industry. The labor heroism of our youth was vividly manifested during the development of petroleum and gas deposits in West Siberia, revival of the nonchernozem zone and construction of the Baykal-Amur Trunk Line, the Volgodonsk Atommash Plant, the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant and many other major national economic projects and in the selfless work of student construction detachments.

Rural youth has many remarkable achievements to its credit. Under the guidance of party organizations work on the education of youth in the spirit of love for land and for agricultural occupations and on its retention in rural areas is carried out in a purposeful way. Many Komsomol organizations have found active forms of participation in the fight for the attainment of high harvests of cotton, grapes, grain, vegetables and other crops and increase in the productivity of animal husbandry and in the implementation of the program for the concentration of agricultural production and its transfer to an industrial basis.

The service sphere, on which, as is well known, a successful solution of social problems, people's moods and rise in their cultural and technical level largely depend, which, ultimately, directly affects the productivity and efficiency of labor, has now become an important area of application of the efforts of youth.

Collective forms of labor organization and remuneration are especially close to the spirit of youth. A total of 8,340 Komsomol-youth collectives now work in all the sectors of the republic's national economy. Youth has been especially widely drawn into such forms of labor at the Bakkonditsioner Association, the Kishlinskiy Machine Building Plant, enterprises of the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, the Ministry of the Food Industry and the Administration of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the Plant imeni P. Montin, the dry transformer plant and others. In this respect a great deal is being done in Bardinskiy, Agdamskiy and Astarinskiy rayons. Here all Komsomol youth collectives have adopted the brigade contract. The movement of collectives, which have expanded the fight for an increase in the efficiency of labor at every section where there is a Komsomol member, should be supported in every possible way.

The daily attention of party organizations to youth affairs and the solicitous and, at the same time, exacting attitude toward youth have a positive effect on the activity of the republic's Komsomol as a whole. Its prestige among the young generation rises and young men and women are drawn to the youth league. In the last 5 years Azerbaijan's Komsomol organization has increased by 347,800 people and now has about 1.2 million Komsomol members. During this time qualitative changes have also taken place in the organization. The general educational level of Komsomol members has become higher, the occupational composition has expanded and the stratum of Komsomol members among specialists and the creative intelligentsia has increased. Young women form more than one-half of the republic Komsomol organization.

At the same time, comrades, analyzing the state of work on the communist education of youth and the level of party guidance of Azerbaijan's Komsomol from the standpoint of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, we must state with all party responsibility that all of us must carry out vast work.

The party considers party guidance of the youth movement the very first condition for and the most important guarantee of the revolutionary succession of generations. The ideological convictions, moral potential and position, from which the young person embarks on life, are some of the main concerns of the CPSU.

All this obligates us with party right-mindedness to evaluate what has been attained, to uncover oversights and to map out practical ways of eliminating them. Shortcomings in the guidance of the Komsomol boil down to the fact that by no means all party organizations consider this area of party work a paramount matter and pay attention to youth, to its needs and to the requirements of youth collectives.

Of course, there are many reasons here, but we see the main one in the fact that an efficient system of work with the Komsomol has not yet been formed everywhere and there is a great deal of drift and inconsistency in this matter. The forms and methods of guidance of the Komsomol do not always meet present party requirements.

Seeing to it that the Komsomol is always at the forward line of economic and cultural construction, confidently leads youth behind it and educates and trains it with specific activities remains one of the central tasks in the improvement of party guidance of the Komsomol. It is important to ensure the active participation of all youth in the practical realization of the tasks of increasing production efficiency and work quality and of accelerating scientific and technical progress.

It is necessary to ensure an active participation of young workers, kolkhoz members, specialists in the national economy and students, in brief, of the entire young generation, in the solution of these fundamental economic and social problems put forward by the party. Naturally, in each specific case the forms of their participation can and will be different, but mandatorily effective.

At the same time, it is important to avoid formalism and show. When involving youth in such forms of labor rivalry as socialist competition, contests in occupational skills, creative cooperation of scientists and production workers, patronage help and so forth, it is necessary to see to it that they attract youth with their scale and romance, evoke its enthusiasm and inspire it for selfless labor. Party organizations should promptly note the undertakings of youth, give publicity to them and support them in the maximum possible way.

For example, let us take such a problem as Komsomol patronage over the national economic sectors that especially need the influx of young manpower and specialists with modern training. The last two congresses of the republic's Komsomol put forward the task of more widely enlisting youth in the petroleum industry. During the 11th Five-Year Plan this sector has been declared a shock front of the republic's Komsomol.

In fact, however, Komsomol organizations and, primarily, the Central Committee of the Komsomol could not organize an effective patronage over the sector's enterprises. Undoubtedly, a considerable part of the blame for this also rests

with the departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. During the years following the 31st congress of the Komsomol the number of young men and women working in the petroleum refining industry did not increase, the proportion of youth in the total number of the sector's workers was even reduced and the number of petroleum industry workers who were Komsomol members also decreased.

Unfortunately, neither party bodies, nor Komsomol organizations, nor economic managers of petroleum and gas extracting enterprises draw the proper conclusions from this fact. For example, during 3 years of the five-year plan 768 graduates of vocational and technical schools went to work at the Azneft' Production Association and 717 left it. Such a high turnover is largely due to the fact that normal working and living conditions are not created for youth and it sees no prospects for growth. It is intolerable that more than one-fourth of the young specialists hold positions of workers and their proportion among the managerial link does not exceed 5 percent.

Who if not the rayon party committee of the Rayon imeni 26 Bakinskij Komissarov, Leninskiy, Ordzhonikidzevskiy, Azizbekovskiy, Karadagskiy and other rayon party committees, management of the Azneft' Association and secretaries of party organizations of petroleum and gas extracting administrations should look into what is happening? This matter has long become urgent and should be solved. Is it not because of this that for a number of years Azneft' has been operating unstably and this year is not fulfilling the established plans for petroleum extraction and drilling?

Such promising petroleum deposits as, for example, Tarsdallyar, require the closest attention. Its most rapid development and buildup should become a matter of honor for the Komsomol.

There are also many production problems in sectors producing consumer goods. To be sure, there is no need to recall that the party now attaches vast importance to an increase in the output, expansion of the assortment and improvement in the quality of these goods. However, few fashionable and beautiful articles of improved styles and designs are produced in the republic. This applies to sewn goods, knitwear, footwear and goods for cultural-general and household purposes. The manufacture of new types of fabrics with modern colorings and patterns and with a good external finish is insufficient.

These shortcomings are largely connected with the poor work of planning and design bureaus and laboratories and of the large detachment of artists, pattern makers and designers, among whom there are many young people, including Komsomol members. Yet novelty, an inclination toward fashion and a desire to dress in a modern way are characteristic of youth. So what in this case prevents a more successful solution of problems of improving the quality of goods?

The department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan jointly with ministries and the Central Committee of the Komsomol must analyze who and what hampers this and liberate and direct the creative forces of the alliance of older and younger generations toward an improvement of affairs in the sphere of production of goods for the people.

Comrades! In the republic every third dwelling house and every fourth industrial project are built, figuratively speaking, with the hands of young people. Builders who are Komsomol members have often been initiators of good causes and about 100 construction projects are now Komsomol shock projects. Unfortunately, however, at many of them the shortage of manpower is felt sharply and the proper organization and construction pace are lacking.

Recently the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has analyzed the state of affairs in the construction of the plant for the manufacture of bearing parts of stationary deep-water foundations, which is a republic Komsomol shock construction project. Since the beginning of construction of this vast enterprise more than 220 million rubles of capital investments have already been utilized and construction and installation work worth about 127 million rubles has been performed. However, it is impossible to talk about true shock work at the construction project. The construction of the second stage is carried out at a low organizational and technical level and there is a big lag in the construction of a number of projects for production and social-cultural purposes.

Youth is poorly drawn into this construction project. In the last 2½ years in all 162 people have been sent there with Komsomol passes, but only about one-half of them have remained to work. It is not surprising that, in fact, only 5 out of 98 brigades working at the construction project are Komsomol youth brigades.

This example puts us on the alert. It points to a formal approach to some important problems. The Central Committee of the Komsomol and city and rayon party committees should immediately look into every construction project declared a Komsomol shock project. We must purposefully see to it that these construction projects are a true school of civic and moral formation, labor and political maturity and true shock labor for young men and women.

Undoubtedly, the participants in the plenum are familiar with the appeal through PRAVDA by builder brigade leaders known all over the country. They sharply raised the problem of workers' moral responsibility for the quality of work and the saving of material and labor resources. They stressed that one-half of the cases of defects were on the conscience of the worker or engineer who broke technological or production discipline. In their opinion, every construction project worker, first of all, must be responsible for the quality of work and cherish his honor as a builder. If he forgets it, no, even the most perfect, equipment will help.

The builders' appeal supported by the CPSU Central Committee should find a business-like response in the republic. All of us know well that at times dwelling houses and projects for social and cultural purposes are delivered with big flaws. The task of party organizations is to bring the appeal and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee to the heart and mind of every builder and to determine the place of party and Komsomol organizations in an improvement in the quality of construction.

It is difficult to overestimate the role of youth in agriculture. The Food Program is the most important component of the party's economic strategy for the next 10 years. Its goal is well known--to ensure a stable supply of all types of foodstuffs for the population and to improve the structure of the diet. Two factors--people and land, land and people armed with modern means and methods of production management--are of decisive importance in this.

The republic's party organization has set and is accomplishing the task of increasing the yield of every hectare, improving the quality of agricultural output, establishing a firm feed base for animal husbandry and on this basis sharply raising meat and milk production.

It is quite obvious that we cannot accomplish these tasks without young manpower. City and rayon party committees, rayon agroindustrial associations, primary party and trade union organizations and farm managers should clearly see the role and place of youth in rural areas.

Let us take such an important area as public animal husbandry. On most dairy farms there are no substitute milkers and many of them work without days-off. Despite the availability of sufficient labor resources two-shift work is not introduced on farms. Of course, this does not contribute to the retention of youth in animal husbandry and it is not accidental that almost one-third of it leaves the sector after the first year of work.

Animal husbandry in the republic has all the possibilities of reaching a qualitatively new level of development in the next few years. A specific program for the realization of this task was determined by the decisions of the well-known plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Party committees, the Central Committee of the Komsomol and oblast, city and rayon Komsomol committees must ensure a broad participation of young men and women in the realization of this program. It is necessary to more objectively deal with problems of retaining youth in animal husbandry, creating appropriate conditions of work and rest for it and raising its occupational skills.

The retention of machine operating personnel in rural areas is no less important a field of activity of party organizations and the Komsomol. Despite the fact that about 80,000 machine operators have been trained in the republic in the last 3 years, their number per 100 tractors has even decreased from 102 to 97. The situation is especially bad in Dzhalilabadskiy, Kazakhskiy, Kelbadzharskiy, Kubatlinskiy, Masallinskiy, Leriskiy, Fizulinskiy and Yardymlinskiy rayons, where there are less than 80 machine operators per 100 tractors.

The improvement in the skills of young machine operators is also unsatisfactory. Only 9 percent of them have the first category and 22 percent, the second. The task of party committees, Komsomol organizations, agricultural bodies and, primarily, rayon agroindustrial associations is to provide in the next few years kolkhozes and sovkhozes with machine operators in terms of no less than one-and-a half-shift operation of every tractor and to increase the proportion of machine operators of the first and second categories to 80 percent.

It cannot be considered normal that less than 30 percent of the Komsomol members working in rural areas work as part of Komsomol-youth collectives. Their number is extremely insufficient on kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Akhsuinskiy, Dashkesanskiy, Divichinskiy, Dzhebrailskiy, Kedabekskiy, Tauzskiy, Shamkhorskiy and some other rayons.

Matters must be organized so that improved technology and advanced forms of labor and production organization are applied in Komsomol-youth collectives. Agricultural ministries and departments and party and Soviet bodies should occupy an active position in this problem.

Youth in rural areas and the intensification of party guidance of the rural Komsomol must be especially discussed, because, comrades, our work with you now largely determines what rural areas will be like in the very near future, how carefully man will manage on earth and whether he will be able to raise the standard of farming and animal husbandry to a qualitatively new level and to successfully accomplish much more complex and responsible tasks concerning an increase in the production of agricultural products.

Here are several problems connected with work in the service sphere. As is well known, the republic's Komsomol has patronage over it. Since the beginning of the five-year plan more than 7,000 young men and women have been sent to trade and domestic service enterprises with Komsomol passes and the Komsomol stratum among the workers of these national economic sectors has increased 1.5-fold. At present more than 30,000 Komsomol members work here and 710 Komsomol-youth collectives have been established. Student detachments have proved themselves in passenger services in railroad transport and in the system of trade and public dining.

These, comrades, are good tendencies and they should be consolidated in every possible way. However, it is disturbing that, when accepting youth, managers of some trade and domestic service enterprises often forget it and are not interested in the further fate of young workers and specialists. The matter of improving the skills of young personnel is organized poorly and few young workers are promoted to managerial positions. For example, only 40 percent of the Komsomol-youth collectives are headed by individuals under the age of 30 and the percentage of women among them is even less than that. At the same time, more than 700 young specialists with higher and secondary specialized education work as junior salesmen, dispatchers, cashiers and so forth. These and other shortcomings lead to the fact that youth is poorly retained in the service sphere.

Party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations and economic managers in the service sphere must eliminate these shortcomings, intensify work on drawing youth into these national economic sectors and inculcate in young trade and domestic service workers implacability with respect to negative phenomena.

Inculcating in youth a conscious socialist discipline of labor and conduct is one of the important directions in work with it. As you know, during the current year the CPSU Central Committee adopted the decree "On the Activity of Azerbaijan's Party Organizations for the Fulfillment of the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU 'On Intensifying Work on Strengthening Socialist Labor Discipline.'" A special plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan was devoted to this problem in June.

Extensive work on the fulfillment of this decree encompassing all labor collectives has spread in the republic. One can say that its first results are on hand. During the first 6 months, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, work time losses were reduced to one-third. They decreased to one-half and less at the enterprises of the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of Local Industry, the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, the Ministry of the Timber and Wood Processing Industry and so forth. Work time losses owing to nonappearance at work with the administration's permission were lowered by 42.5 percent, idle time, by 32.5 percent and unauthorized absences from work, by 24.1 percent. Personnel turnover also decreased.

However, comrades, this, of course, is only the beginning of work that we have to do in order to fulfill the decree of the CPSU Central Committee. We have only tapped the reserves that lie, so to speak, on the surface. We have to wage a decisive fight for the introduction of proper order in every area and for the elimination of laxity and sloppiness. We must reach a level at which every person works creatively and conscientiously, devoting his talent, skills and every minute of the work time to public production.

That is why one of the urgent tasks of party organizations in the matter of improvement in the guidance of the Komsomol is to see to it that these qualities are persistently inculcated in every young person entering independent life. Today at the plenum we must self-critically admit that we, the older generation, who have gone through an extensive school of life, poorly utilize the means and possibilities of influence on youth and often indulge its parasitical moods and irresponsible attitude toward work.

Our duty and obligation is to transmit the rich experience in the construction of a new life and conviction in the rightness of the common cause to youth. In this matter it is difficult to overestimate the importance of personal contacts of party workers and our entire aktiv with Komsomol members and youth where they work, study and rest. In fact, however, many secretaries of party committees and primary party organizations, enterprise directors, kolkhoz chairmen, ministers and their deputies did not attend plenums and bureaus of Komsomol committees and Komsomol meetings.

There is another, no less important, aspect of the succession of generations. This is the personal example of an older comrade, especially a manager. Unfortunately, we must say that there are more than just isolated cases, when a worker, who is given authority, follows the path of abuses. People note indirectly that such a person lives beyond his means, not being ashamed, and even flaunts this. Party organizations and Soviet and law protecting bodies still look at this calmly and impassively. Such a person faces justice only when he engages in squandering and misappropriation.

Comrades! The ideological-political and moral education of youth is a matter of paramount significance. The formation of the new man and of his ideological convictions and moral makeup is the most complex matter requiring considerable educational efforts and the mobilization of the entire arsenal of diverse means of training, instruction and political education. As noted in the decree of

the Central Committee, "following the principles of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary to carry out this work on a wide front, to take into consideration the specific nature of various categories of young people, the level of their education and information and their interests and inclinations and to involve all the spheres, in which the formation of the personality of the young person occurs."

The education of the growing generation is a multifaceted process extended in time. Its main task is to see to it that communist ideology enters the flesh and blood of every young person and that his class training is strong as steel. That is why we consider the improvement in party guidance of the Marxist-Leninist education of youth and of the inculcation of the need to learn communism one of the central directions. Party organizations and all our ideological institutions must purposefully work on a rise in the scientific level of propaganda and agitation, intensify its offensive in the fight against bourgeois ideology and morality and strengthen its connection with life and with the solution of urgent political and economic problems. What is no less important, work in this direction should be carried out in an interesting and absorbing manner and profoundly excite the heart and mind of the young person.

In the republic in recent years the political and economic training of Komsomol members and youth has been improved and the structure of their Marxist-Leninist education has been regulated. The oblast, city and rayon party committees and primary party organizations that regularly submit these problems to plenums and bureau meetings for discussion act correctly.

However, there are still many shortcomings and oversights in the organization of this work. First of all, they concern the selection and training of cadres of Komsomol propagandists. For example, the number of propagandist party members in the network of political Komsomol training has decreased in the city of Ali-Bayramly and Gadrutskiy, Zangelanskiy, Ilichevskiy, Kubinskiy and Mir-Bashkirskiy rayons. Workers of Narimanovskiy and Azizbekovskiy rayon Komsomol committees in the city of Baku, the Mingechaur City Committee and Udzharskiy, Ismailinskiy, Pushkinskiy and other rayon Komsomol committees hardly participate in propaganda work.

During the new academic year it is necessary to direct political Komsomol education primarily toward the realization of the requirements of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improvement in Party Guidance of the Komsomol and Enhancement of Its Role in the Communist Education of Youth" and implementation of the principles and recommendations contained in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's addresses. We must see to it that young men and women profoundly assimilate our spiritual values, replenish their knowledge of the history of the CPSU and the Komsomol, of the principles of communist morality and of the problems of the socialist way of life and receive a lasting ideological training.

We expect a considerable activation of lecture propaganda among young people from the republic Znaniye [Knowledge] society and its local organizations. It is necessary, with due regard for the needs of youth, to expand the network of people's universities and to find new forms of active propaganda of social-political and natural-scientific knowledge. The most experienced and authoritative scientists, specialists and lecturers, who can captivate the audience, should come to youth.

It is well known that the vivifying atmosphere of internationalism of our society is close and dear to the Komsomol and youth. Extensive experience in the international and patriotic education of workers and youth has been accumulated in the republic. It is based on the remarkable revolutionary and internationalist traditions of the working class, all the people of Azerbaijan and our party organization.

A great deal is done in this direction in our republic. The decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan on measures for the further development of international relations between Azerbaijan's workers and workers in fraternal Soviet republics is implemented successfully. Sending the best representatives of our youth to study at leading higher educational institutions in Moscow, Leningrad and other major cities in the country plays a big positive role. In turn, Azerbaijan's youth actively participates in providing patronage help to Arkhangelsk Oblast and in socialist competition with the slogan "Tyumen's Orders--Ahead of Schedule and With a High Quality!" Socialist competition among workers in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and Turkmenia, between cotton growers in Azerbaijan and the Central Asian Republics and between cities and rayons in Azerbaijan and cities and rayons in fraternal Soviet republics is an example of internationalism in action. An important role in the education of youth on revolutionary, fighting, labor and international traditions belongs to our glorious party, labor and war veterans. The Council of Revolutionary Glory under the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Azerbaijan is engaged in extensive work in this direction.

International relations of Azerbaijan youth have been firmly established and have become a visible sign of socialist reality. The duty of party and Komsomol organizations is to expand and strengthen them in the maximum possible way and to actively affirm in every young man and woman the sense and feeling of belonging to a united Soviet nation. All the means of agitation and propaganda and cultural-educational work should be activated in the international education of youth. It is very important to improve the work on the study of the Russian language, which plays a vast role in the strengthening of the unity of USSR nations and nationalities.

In the last few years, owing to measures adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, work on the military-patriotic education of youth has been intensified. The activity of DOSAAF /Voluntary Society for Co-operation With the Armed Forces/ has been stirred up, preconscription training for army service has improved and, as compared with 1970, the number of people from Azerbaijan, mainly young people of indigenous nationality, entering military schools has quadrupled.

The preparation for the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War has been expanded widely. All labor collectives have assumed duties in connection with memorials. More than 5,000 meetings between young people and participants in the Great Patriotic War--heroes of the Soviet Union, holders of the Order of Glory, officers, those who excelled themselves in combat and political training of the armed forces, labor veterans and other distinguished people in the republic--have been held. Many articles in the press and television and radio addresses have been devoted to the approaching glorious anniversary.

At the same time, the level and scope of organization and performance of mass defense work and military-patriotic education by no means meet today's requirements everywhere. At times this important matter is neglected and is revived only in connection with some important events and dates.

We must take into consideration that, acting in an increasingly refined and insidious manner, our class opponent especially gambles on youth. Therefore, it is necessary to develop in young people a strong immunity against the influence of hostile ideology and the ability to defend their communist convictions and to engage in political polemics. The solution of this problem is inseparably connected with the formation of a high ideological and political culture.

Work in this direction encompasses all the aspects of our multifaceted ideological activity. However, there are key factors in it, which should be constantly in the field of vision of party and Komsomol bodies and all institutions and organizations dealing with problems connected with the education of the growing generation.

Youth should know well what expresses the specific advantages of our socialist system so that, assimilating the very rich experience of older generations, it is able to transform communism into a guide for practical work and augment the material and spiritual values of our society. It is very important to imbue it with unshakeable confidence in the social justice of socialist ideals and respect for the glorious history of our homeland, the state emblem, the hymn of the Soviet Union, the state flag of our country and the hymn and flag of our republic.

Political culture is forged in the fight against the difficulties that we encounter in daily life. The growing generation should not be shut off from them. Existing shortcomings and negative phenomena and the reasons for and ways of eliminating them must be discussed with young people frankly and not made trite. We must not stoop to oversimplified positions and conceal these shortcomings and negative phenomena, because this undermines faith and ideals and introduces formalism into propaganda work.

As stressed in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, high ideological-moral qualities, primarily communist conviction, social activity, industry, self-discipline, responsibility for the common cause, culture, nobility with respect to the family, collective and society, a respectful attitude toward the law and the ability to overcome the difficulties that arise should be characteristic of the young person in the society of developed socialism.

Party organizations in Lenkoran, Kirovabad, Sumgait and Oktyabrskiy, Dzhalilabadskiy, Ismaillinskiy, Ilichevskiy, Martuninskiy and a number of other rayons are engaged in purposeful work on the moral education of workers, primarily youth. We must more energetically popularize socialist traditions and promote new socialist rites. Initiations of young workers, days of first wages, celebration of labor dynasties, harvest holidays, days of cotton, grape and vegetable growers and so forth should become traditional everywhere, not in individual collectives.

A great deal has to be done for an extensive introduction and popularization of socialist rites and civil rituals. For example, we cannot be satisfied with the present state of work of the bodies of the Civil Registry Office on the organization of the rite of marriage and birth registration. In many rayons this ceremony is devoid of an ideological and emotional charge and attractiveness and a single, well-thought out ceremonial procedure is lacking. Moreover, many civil registry offices are located on poorly planned premises. It is time for the Ministry of Justice and executive committees of soviets of people's deputies to seriously undertake the solution of these problems and to transform marriage and birth registration into a true holiday, closely connecting this work with the propaganda of the Soviet way of life.

It is necessary to further increase efforts in the atheistic education of youth. We must not tolerate the fact that some party and Komsomol organizations play the role of detached observers and overlook cases of youth involvement in the performance of religious rites, visits to mosques and churches and wearing of articles of religious symbolism. Some activists timidly come out against superstitions and various religious rumors. The "miraculousness" of so-called "holy places," which are foci of superstition and ignorance, is still debunked weakly. Party and Komsomol bodies must significantly increase the effectiveness of mass atheistic work among youth, widely draw the Komsomol aktiv into it and efficiently expose the attempts by ideological opponents to utilize the religious factor for anti-Soviet and anticomunist purposes.

There is no need to demonstrate how important a competent organization of the cultural leisure of youth is. It should contribute to its spiritual enrichment, physical development and cultivation of high esthetic taste. Unfortunately, many Komsomol organizations, essentially, are removed from these problems. They are not disturbed by the low artistic and esthetic level of work of cultural-educational institutions, discoteques and amateur youth associations. They are not very familiar with the moods of young people, do not promptly react to unhealthy diversions among youth and try to solve new problems by obsolete methods.

In this connection it is necessary to talk about the need to expand and strengthen the material and technical recreation base of youth. Economic organizations and soviets of people's deputies should establish, through the reconstruction and major repairs of buildings, new centers of leisure--clubs, chess clubs, young technicians' stations and so forth.

The republic's Komsomol organization, creative unions and cultural institutions are called upon to better and more efficiently utilize all the forms of ideological-political education of creative youth, to be profoundly familiar with the problems and needs of young people and to give them the necessary assistance for an all-around manifestation of their gifts.

Our literary and art figures of older and middle generations should be closely connected with the Komsomol and actively participate in the preparation and holding of various kinds of seminars for creative youth, literary meetings, music festivals, contests, reviews and so forth. A truly creative environment and an atmosphere of adherence to high principles in the evaluation of the works of young authors must reign in all creative unions and societies and in literary publications, where there are youth sections and associations.

We cannot agree with the fact that some leading writers, composers and artists refrain from expressing their attitude toward weak works, which are not very artistic and suffer from ideological inaccuracy. This applies to an even greater extent to literary criticism. We are for an attentive and sensitive attitude toward young talent, but criticism should not ignore shortcomings. "Our Marxist-leninist criticism," as Comrade K. U. Chernenko said, "should not only accurately evaluate specific works. We expect from art criticism more--the ability to uncover the profound social meaning of the problems touched upon in works, to support authors, if they raise them correctly, and to argue with them when they err."

The ideological and political training of students and educational work at educational institutions are some of the basic directions in the activity of party organizations. Oblast, city and rayon party committees, primary party organizations of higher educational institutions and schools and pedagogical collectives should more objectively deal with problems of improvement in the quality of instruction and strengthening of its connection with life and social and political practice. It is necessary to continue to persistently reorient the educational process from a simple assimilation by students of a certain sum of knowledge to the cultivation in them of the ability, in Lenin's words, to independently analyze the complex phenomena of social development.

We cannot put up with the low progress and lack of discipline of students and with the deviations from the norms of communist morality, which still exist in our higher educational institutions, tekhnikums and other educational establishments. The Komsomol should be in the vanguard of the fight against these negative manifestations.

It is called upon to show concern for young specialists in a much better and more interesting manner. It is no secret that complaints by young specialists connected with job placement and housing-domestic conditions are still frequent. The Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers had to interfere more than once in order to solve a certain problem. What is this good for, comrades, Komsomol leaders?

Sizable Komsomol forces are concentrated in the republic's planning and experimental design organizations. The task is to attain an enhancement of their role in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. As yet we do not have enough long-term overall contracts on cooperation between Komsomol organizations of scientific research institutes and industrial and agricultural enterprises. Meanwhile, many urgent problems could be efficiently solved by the joint efforts of young scientists and production workers and their creative initiative.

Councils of young scientists and specialists operate inefficiently. The fact that the average age of the republic's scientific youth has a tendency toward a rise is disturbing. In the republic's Academy of Sciences in the last few years the number of young candidates and doctors of sciences has decreased. Our scientific youth is insufficiently widely represented at all-Union and republic scientific and scientific-technical conferences, congresses and schools in terms of the urgent problems of the national economy and communist education of youth. The need to increase the demands on works recommended for the prize of the Leninist Komsomol of Azerbaijan should also be mentioned. Truly the most deserving and talented representatives of the republic's youth should be the winners.

The guidance and control over the activity of graduate study departments need to be intensified. It is baffling that, as a rule, graduate students successfully undergo an annual certification, but only few complete dissertation papers on schedule. Every year only 10 or 11 out of the 170 graduate students at the republic's Academy of Sciences, or 6 percent, defend their dissertations on schedule. The organization of work at graduate study departments is especially unsatisfactory at institutes of organochlorine synthesis, chemistry of additives, literature and genetics and selection of the Academy of Sciences. There are also serious omissions in the admission for graduate studies.

The republic's Academy of Sciences, directors of scientific research institutes, ministries and departments and party organizations should intensify their attention to graduate studies, on the whole, attain a rise in the scientific level and practical value of dissertations and increase the demands on the authors of dissertations themselves. After all, only talented young people can ensure the future of our science.

As is well known, the Soviet school plays an especially important role in the education of the young generation. It is precisely here that the foundation for the personality of the future worker, kolkhoz member and national economic specialist is laid down and man's ideological-political and moral makeup is formed to a significant extent.

Following the decisions of the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, party committees must more specifically direct Komsomol organizations toward work connected with the implementation of the school reform. We have many examples of an active participation in this matter of young Komsomol member teachers, who with their conscientious and selfless labor make a worthy contribution to the training and education of the growing generation. Comrade N. Mamedova from Udzharskiy Rayon, Comrade M. Aslanova from Kubinskiy Rayon, Comrade F. Kassanova from Agdamskiy Rayon and many others can be included among them.

However, by no means all teaching Komsomol organizations have a marked effect on the life of their educational institutions. A total of 24,500 Komsomol member teachers now work in the republic's schools. They are connected with students by common causes and interests and by Komsomol Rules uniform for all. The task of city and rayon Komsomol committees and party organizations is to enhance the role of Komsomol teachers' organizations and to see to it that they become united fighting collectives of enthusiastic teachers, who love their profession, and that every young teacher fulfills specific assignments, actively participates in the school's social life and is the initiator of interesting and useful causes in his city and rayon.

The weak work of many school Komsomol organizations is disturbing. Not all of them wage the proper fight for an improvement in the quality of students' training and education. As before, there are many repeaters, including among Komsomol members, in Neftechalinskiy, Lerikskiy, Kubtalinskiy, Lachinskiy and other rayons. The dropout of students is significant in Dzhalilabadskiy, Kelbadzharskiy and Apsheronskiy rayons.

The activity of the pioneer organization requires the closest and most thoughtful attention. Unfortunately, the Central Committee of the republic's Komsomol does not manifest the proper activity in this important matter. It is necessary to improve the forms and methods of pioneer work and to make it truly lively, fascinating and cognitive. Of course, this will largely depend on an improvement in the selection, training and education of cadres of young pioneer leaders.

The role and importance of the system of vocational and technical education in the education of the young generation has steadily increased in recent years, especially with the expansion of the network of the same types of secondary vocational and technical schools.

We have accumulated rich experience in the training and education of skilled working personnel. Collectives of vocational and technical schools Nos 74 and 84 in the city of Baku and others widely utilize the latest achievements of pedagogy, science and technology in their daily activity. Base enterprises willingly admit the graduates of these schools, knowing that from the first days of work young cadres will actively join the ranks of labor collectives.

The State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, party organizations of schools and the Central Committee of the Komsomol must take measures to widely popularize the advanced experience in the training of skilled working personnel. Instilling pride for belonging to the working class and to workers' occupations is the core of this work. We must increase the public prestige of workers' specialties in the maximum possible way.

Comrades! The decree of the CPSU Central Committee obligates party, Soviet, Komsomol and economic bodies and public organizations to implement an extensive system of measures to draw youth into scientific-technical and artistic creative work, into the physical culture and sports movement and into youth tourism.

We are seriously perturbed by the state of physical culture and sports in the republic, which are poorly introduced into the daily life of wide strata of the population. Is this normal that, having the most favorable conditions for the development of water and game types of sports and light athletics, in the last few years our sportsmen have lost their positions in these types of sports? The main reason is that the level of organization of physical education at most general educational and vocational-technical schools, tekhnikums and higher educational institutions remains below any criticism. The Committee for Physical Culture and Sports jointly with the Azerbaijan Trade Union Council, the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Azerbaijan, the Ministry of Education, the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education must implement specific effective measures to draw broad masses of workers, primarily youth, into energetic physical culture and sports activities. Of course, the republic's Committee for Physical Culture and Sports should head this important work. Serious responsibility for the solution of this problem rests with the appropriate comrades from the republic's Council of Ministers and departments of the Central Committee.

The approval of the norms and principles of the socialist way of life is impossible without a constant and persistent fight against antisocial manifestations, spiritual poverty and its inevitable concomitants--drunkenness, hooliganism, breaches of labor discipline and laziness.

It should be noted that the uncompromising fight against violators of Soviet laws and socialist morality waged in the republic has a beneficial effect on the education of youth in the spirit of respect for the laws of our society.

At the same time, the shortcomings and errors in educational work among the growing generation contribute to the manifestation of the psychology of consumption, dependence, egoism and self-interest among a certain part of it. The fight against these manifestations on the part of Komsomol organizations of labor collectives, educational institutions and mass information media is insufficiently aggressive.

Problems of youth education and implementation of party guidance of the Komsomol should be widely reflected in mass information media. Republic newspapers and editorial departments of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting must diversify youth topics, increase the ideological content and occupational level of publications and broadcasts and more fully illuminate the practice of party guidance of the Komsomol and work with youth. The Central Committee of the Komsomol of Azerbaijan jointly with party bodies must think out and implement measures to improve the activity of the Komsomol, pioneer and children's press. Special attention should be drawn to giving more scope to youth problems on the pages of city and rayon newspapers.

Comrades! The enhancement of the role of the Komsomol as an organized youth nucleus in communist construction and the increased tasks concerning the education of the growing generation require the further organizational-political strengthening of Komsomol organizations and the intensification of their militancy and independence, especially of primary Komsomol organizations.

As noted above, in the last few years the activity of the Central Committee of the Komsomol and of oblast, city and rayon Komsomol committees has become more specific. It is now better filled with the content with which youth and the entire nation live. Komsomol work is directed toward the solution of key economic and social problems facing the republic.

At the same time, many Komsomol committees at times act with inertia. They try to solve new problems by hackneyed and trite methods and means. The striving for self-expression characteristic of youth is not skillfully directed to the necessary channel everywhere.

To the detriment of lively organizational work a great deal of effort and time is spent on the preparation of various certificates, reports, information and other documents. For example, in the last 3½ years the Central Committee of the Komsomol has prepared and sent 4,500 documents to various instances. Last year alone the buro and secretariat of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Azerbaijan adopted more than 300 decrees. On the average, every executive on the staff of the Central Committee has to work with more than 100 documents during the year.

The adherence of Komsomol committees to paper work, excessive organization, all kinds of reviews, movements and contests and numerous directives and recommendations forces the aktiv to deal with a large number of at times far-fetched and not very useful matters and not to finish what it has begun. The Komsomol aktiv often remains aloof from problems of concern to youth and constructs its work apart from its broad masses. As a result, the Komsomol leader loses his contact with the life of young people, does not have prestige among them and does not enjoy their respect.

Komsomol organizations should act as truly democratic, independent organizations. This requires many changes in the manner and method of their work. Komsomol cadres play a vast role in this reorganization. As the decree of the CPSU Central Committee demands, they are called upon to spend maximum time in youth collectives, to come in contact with youth not only from the tribune during mass activities, but also in daily life, to profoundly investigate its concerns and to skillfully combine mass and individual forms of work among young men and women. The Komsomol aktiv should directly concentrate its efforts on work in primary organizations and Komsomol groups and be where youth works, studies, spends its free time and rests, seeing to it that all Komsomol members conscientiously fulfill public assignments and actively participate in the affairs of their organization.

We must pay the most serious attention to the further organizational strengthening of Komsomol organizations and their reinforcement with workers. It is not normal that the working stratum has decreased in Kuba, Kusary, Tauz and Khanlar organizations and the Komsomol stratum in such an important sector as transport remains low.

Komsomol committees must intensify work on an increase in the demands on Komsomol members for the observance of Komsomol Rules and their fulfillment of the norms and principles of Komsomol life. Unfortunately, many Komsomol committees bypass these vitally important problems. For example, in some Komsomol organizations the number of those that have left without being removed from the register reaches 10 to 11 percent of the total number. However, this does not alarm Komsomol committees. Proceedings are not instituted against many Komsomol members who have committed serious offenses. For example, last year only 38.8 percent of the Komsomol members convicted by people's courts were excluded from Komsomol ranks.

An improvement in the practice, manner and method of Komsomol work and in the entire activity of the Komsomol largely depends on the attention paid to youth affairs by party organizations, on how thoughtful and, at the same time, demanding they are with respect to youth and on the way they develop the initiative and independence of Komsomol committees. Many shortcomings in the method of work of Komsomol committees, which have already been discussed, are the consequence of the absence of concreteness and consistency in their guidance on the part of party committees.

A rise in the level of organizational and educational Komsomol work depends to a large extent on who heads Komsomol organizations. One can say that the problem of Komsomol cadres is a key one, Comrade K. U. Chernenko stresses. Komsomol is a good school for training cadres for party, state and public organizations. Many key party, Soviet, trade-union and economic workers in the republic

have acquired in the Komsomol the first skills of work with people and received political and organizational training. Suffice it to say that hundreds of Komsomol workers and activists have been recommended for party, Soviet, trade-union and Komsomol work in the republic.

The qualitative composition of Komsomol cadres has risen, replaceability has decreased and work on their training and education has improved. All secretaries of oblast, city and rayon Komsomol committees are now CPSU members, have higher and incomplete higher education and more than 40 percent of them are specialists with engineering and agricultural education.

However, the level of work with Komsomol cadres does not fully meet the demands placed on them today. As already stated, last year the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan examined the work of the Central Committee of the Komsomol with Komsomol cadres. Significant shortcomings were disclosed. A check shows that they are eliminated slowly. In work with cadres an unjustified haste is tolerated and there are cases when workers, who have no prospects, who have not proved themselves in anything and who do not have the necessary political, business-like and moral qualities, are recommended for Komsomol work. In Komsomol work there are still few women, workers, kolkhoz members and specialists, who have received training in a labor collective. For example, there is not a single agricultural specialist on the staff of Lenkoran, Yevlakh and Sheki city Komsomol committees.

Work with the reserve of Komsomol cadres remains a bottleneck, although there are great opportunities for its creation. In the last 3½ years alone more than 42,000 Komsomol members have joined the party. Almost one out of six of them has higher and incomplete higher education.

It must be openly admitted that rayon, city and oblast party committees and, moreover, departments of the Central Committee do not pay proper attention to problems of selection, disposition, education and creation of reserves of Komsomol cadres. Suffice it to say that at present 13 posts of first secretaries of rayon Komsomol committees and 80 posts of dismissed secretaries of primary Komsomol organizations are vacant. The Ali-Bayramly City Committee and Zakatalskiy, Agdamskiy, Shamkhorskiy, Kutkashenskiy and other rayon party committees poorly deal with problems of Komsomol cadres.

Oblast, city and rayon party committees and primary party organizations must see to it that Komsomol organizations are headed by trustworthy leaders capable of unifying and leading youth.

Party guidance of the Komsomol should be of a planned and systematic nature, which would ensure an active purposeful activity of all the links of the youth league, contribute in the maximum possible way to the uncovering of the creative potential of the Komsomol and direct its energy to the necessary channel. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee orients party committees and party organizations precisely toward such a method of guiding the Komsomol. The idea of the need for a maximally concrete and objective approach to youth problems on the part of party bodies runs through the entire decree.

At the same time, it should be kept in mind, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko stresses, that we should not at all judge the level of party guidance of the Komsomol only by the number of problems heard by party committees. Unfortunately, it often happens that a large number of decrees are adopted, but no headway is made. For example, in the last 3 years the Agdashskiy Rayon Party Committee discussed matters concerning the activity of the rayon Komsomol organizations five times and heard the reports by the first secretary of the rayon Komsomol committee three times. All the decisions are in the air, as before, Komsomol committees manifest insufficient initiative in the accomplishment of economic tasks, the efforts of young people are insufficiently concentrated on key problems, the party nucleus in Komsomol organizations remains weak and there are many miscalculations in the selection, disposition and training of Komsomol cadres and the aktiv.

Another extremity, when problems concerning the guidance of the Komsomol are not examined for years, is also intolerable. Zakatalskiy, Ismaillinskiy, Masallinskiy, Neftechalinskiy, Tauzskiy, Khachmasskiy and Shemakhinskiy rayon party committees address them extremely rarely. Many primary party organizations tolerate the same shortcomings in their work.

Following the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, every oblast, city and rayon party committee and every primary party organization must critically analyze the existing practice of guidance of the Komsomol and the experience in work with youth and determine specific measures to eliminate the shortcomings existing in this matter, to further improve party guidance of the Komsomol and to enhance its role in the communist education of youth. It is necessary to constantly and profoundly investigate the social and ideological processes that occur among youth, to systematically analyze them and to help Komsomol organizations in the selection of the basic directions and the most effective forms of work. At the same time, it is necessary to manifest the maximum conviction and comradely attention, to support useful undertakings and, in Lenin's words, "to teach and pull up youth not with sermons, but with work." The CPSU Central Committee considers precisely these requirements mandatory for the method of party guidance of the Komsomol.

Ensuring an efficient coordination of the actions of Soviet, trade-union and economic organizations and all those directly connected with youth education is an important task of party bodies. We must see to it that every participant in this process best ensures the fulfillment of his specific task.

The staff of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan faces responsible tasks. All departments--for organizational party work, propaganda and agitation, science and educational institutions and culture, as well as sectorial departments--engage in the daily affairs of the Komsomol. They should specifically determine their place in this important work and constantly maintain a close connection with the Central Committee of the Komsomol and local Komsomol organizations.

It is necessary to systematically analyze, generalize and introduce all the best that is born by life and tested by practice and to more boldly embark on a substantiated experiment. It is important to understand that what was good in work with youth yesterday can prove to be insufficient today. The forms and methods of effective influence on young men and women become quickly obsolete and they must be constantly renewed and creatively developed. This is the unalterable demand for the organization of educational work with youth.

Problems of strengthening the party nucleus in the Komsomol and of enhancing the role and prestige of party members working in Komsomol organizations require constant concern. Meanwhile, a number of primary party organizations in Oktyabrskiy Rayon in the city of Baku and Agdamskiy, Belokanskiy, Divichinskiy, Imishlinskiy, Khanlarskiy, Kyurdamirskiy and Kelbadzharskiy rayons do not take measures so that every young party member, formerly a recent Komsomol member, may actively work in the Komsomol and consider this a responsible party assignment.

Comrades! The decree of the CPSU Central Committee orients us toward a fundamental turn in the organization of guidance of the Komsomol and the communist education of youth. The education of the young generation cannot be reduced to the implementation of occasional measures. Party guidance of the Komsomol is a permanent process and an integral part of multifaceted party activity.

A systematic and practical fulfillment of the tasks put forward in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speeches should become the core of the entire organizational work. Every party committee and every party organization must have maximally efficient and specific measures for the realization of these major party documents.

Permit me, comrades, to express confidence that party, Soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations, ministries, departments, labor collectives and all our cadres will deal with the problems of formation of an active life position of every young person and matters concerning the youth movement. For us, party members, there is no more responsible goal and task than the education of youth in the spirit of communist ideals capable of standing up for the fate of socialism and peace and of carrying the banner of the great Lenin with dignity.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan is confident that Komsomol members and our glorious youth will accept the tasks put forward by the party with all their hearts, raise labor and political activity even higher, rally their ranks around the Communist Party even more closely and work selflessly in the name of and for the good of our great homeland.

Permit me to assure the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU that the republic party organization, following the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade K. U. Chernenko's directives, will take all the necessary measures to raise the level of party guidance of the Komsomol and to improve the entire matter of communist education of youth. (Stormy applause).

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REGIONAL

ROUNDTABLE ON COMBATING BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA HELD IN UKRAINE

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 152-157

[Report, under the section "Scientific Life," by Ye. Ya. Rozanov on a round-table held in Kiev on 21-22 May 1984: "Campaign More Vigorously Against Bourgeois Falsifiers"]

[Text] On 21-22 May a roundtable conference was held in Kiev on the topic "Important Current Issues in the Criticism of Bourgeois and Revisionist Falsifications of the CPSU's Leading Role in Soviet Society\*; it was organized by the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's Institute of Party History, a branch of the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the editorial board of UKRAINSKIY ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL. Participating in the roundtable were officials of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee and scholars from Moscow, Kiev, Riga, Kishinev, Kharkov, Kazan and other cities.

Yu. Yu. Kondufor, director of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of History, editor in chief of UKRAINSKIY ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL, and a corresponding member of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, opened the session with brief introductory remarks. A resolute struggle against imperialist propaganda and well-argued and aggressive criticism of anticomunism, anti-Sovietism and bourgeois and revisionist "concepts" of social development, he said, are an important task for all workers on the ideological front, and especially for social scientists. This is emphasized in the decisions of the 26th party congress and the materials of the CPSU Central Committee's June (1983) plenum.

In recent years Soviet scholars have been giving more and more attention to combating bourgeois falsifications, including falsifications of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policies at various historical stages; this is reflected in the scholarly press, including UKRAINSKIY ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL, which devotes a special section to the critical analysis of bourgeois historiography and carries materials that disclose the scientific bankruptcy of the falsifiers of the CPSU's history.

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\*The complete text of the roundtable conference appears in Kiev UKRAINSKYY ISTORICHNYY ZHURNAL in Ukrainian No 8, Aug 84 pp 10-82.

At this conference, the speaker said, we are to examine the most important current issues in criticizing the distortions by bourgeois and revisionist ideologists of the CPSU's leading role in Soviet society, since our ideological adversaries devote a great deal of attention to this issue.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences P. P. Kulyas, deputy chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, gave a report on "Counterpropaganda in the System of the CPSU's Ideological Work." He emphasized that the party has always accorded great importance to timely and well-argued criticism of the basic areas of bourgeois ideology. This task is no less acute in today's conditions. In the late '70s and early '80s our class adversaries have intensified their subversive activities against socialism and launched a genuine psychological war against the forces of peace and social progress. In this effort, all the anticomunist propaganda media have concentrated their fire primarily on the problem of the leading role of Marxist-Leninist parties in socialist society. Whether the subject is the so-called "crisis" of the Soviet economy, or it is the CPSU's social policies or national relations in our country that are being distorted, in the final analysis everything comes down to slander of the party and its leading role in society.

To ignore these attacks by our class adversary means to consign one of history's most important lessons to oblivion: passivity in the fight against bourgeois and revisionist views in the workers' movement is fraught with the loss of the party's leading role in it and endangers revolutionary gains.

These are precisely the reasons for Lenin's demand to be resolute in the campaign "against the onslaught of ideas and the restoration of the bourgeois world view."\* Following this Leninist directive, the CPSU Central Committee, on the basis of a profound analysis of trends in the present-day ideological struggle, has set the task of more vigorously developing the counterpropaganda area in ideological work. This is one of the principal and inseparable elements of the detailed concept of long-term ideological activity that was presented at the CPSU Central Committee's June (1983) plenum.

But can one say that a new direction has been born in the party's political-ideology work? There are no grounds for such a conclusion, the speaker stressed. The fight against bourgeois and revisionist ideology was always an inseparable part of our party's activities. From its first steps it had to fight against the bourgeoisie's ideological influence and against opportunists, reformists and revisionists. One may consider, to all intents and purposes, that propaganda in the party began with counterpropaganda. And its most unsurpassed master was V. I. Lenin.

At various stages in the party's history uncompromising criticism of various trends in the ideology of the exploiter classes and their revisionist agents

\*V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol. 45, p. 30.

in the Communist and workers' movement--economism, Menshivism, Trotskyism, etc.--has always been relevant.

The campaign against bourgeois, petit-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist organizations and parties was waged in a fully principled fashion in the Ukraine. True to Leninist traditions, the Ukrainian CP dealt them all a crushing blow and enriched itself with the experience of combating alien ideology.

Taking concrete historical conditions into account, the tasks of combating bourgeois ideology were defined and are presently defined in the decisions of party congresses and plenums of the party Central Committee and in decrees of the CPSU Central Committee. They have also found reflection in materials of the 24th through 26th party congresses. The 24th CPSU Congress devoted special attention to rebuffing present-day revisionist concepts, and the 25th congress gave special attention to the specific features of the ideological struggle in the conditions of detente; the 26th congress directed workers on the ideological front toward intensifying aggressiveness in combating bourgeois propaganda.

Thus, as it does with regard to all the basic principles of its policies and practical activities, the CPSU maintains continuity in matters of combating bourgeois ideology, relies on accumulated experience, and creatively enriches it.

P. P. Kulyas went on to note that the decisions of the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and other party documents regard counter-propaganda as an extremely important sphere and a permanent area of the party's activities not just in the international arena but within the country as well. It should be carried out not simply as an occasion arises but systematically, consistently, with the enlistment of experienced party and Soviet officials, scholars and specialists, and with the broad use of all the propaganda media. This work should be structured with a view to the specific situations in various regions of the country and should be based on a precise appraisal of bourgeois propaganda's potential influence on various categories of the population. The main objective of counterpropaganda is to protect Soviet people against the class adversary's attempts to subject them to refined ideological and psychological influence.

Of course, this task is accomplished first and foremost by the practical activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Tremendous successes in economic and cultural construction, constant concern for raising Soviet people's living standard, and the party and Soviet government's steadfast campaign for world peace are the main weapon in exposing bourgeois concepts.

P. P. Kulyas devoted considerable attention in his report to the analysis of counterpropaganda's specific objectives. In the speaker's opinion, it is necessary, in the first place, to promptly and systematically analyze the content of hostile propaganda; in the second place, to study the devices and methods of the psychological warfare waged by our adversary; and finally, to develop and implement measures of counteraction, including exposure of the

class goals, essence and methods of bourgeois propaganda. These are the objectives that counterpropaganda is called on to accomplish.

In conclusion, P. P. Kulyas told about specific successes achieved in the Ukraine in organizing counterpropaganda and training counterpropaganda cadres, and he dwelt on the problems that still exist.

In a speech on the topic "The Applied Scientific Treatment of the Problems of Counterpropaganda in Soviet Writings," Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yu. V. Kilimnik, deputy chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee and director of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's House of Political Enlightenment, noted that in recent years a substantial number of works have come out on the extremely important applied scientific problems of propaganda. They disclose the essence of counterpropaganda and party guidance of this work and generalize the experience of combating views and attitudes that are alien to Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet scholars devote considerable attention to the methodological problems of counterpropaganda. However, the speaker stressed, there is still no common viewpoint regarding the concept of "counterpropaganda" itself. The goals of counterpropaganda are also interpreted in different ways. In confirmation of this, Yu. V. Kilimnik cited different definitions of counterpropaganda contained in the works of S. I. Beglov, V. N. Yaroshenko, Zh. T. Toshchenko, V. L. Artemov, V. F. Pravotorov, N. M. Keyzerov and others.\*

Study of the problem of counterpropaganda, the speaker continued, is impossible without examining the question of its functions, principles and methods of organization. However, these problems have not yet been sufficiently investigated by Soviet scholars.

The scholarly works that have been published in recent years do not overlook the methodological aspect of counterpropaganda, either. There have been monographs, brochures and articles on matters pertaining to the criticism of anticomunism in the process of teaching the social sciences in secondary schools and higher educational institutions, and there have been publications

\*See V. N. Yaroshenko, "Podryvnaya propaganda v sisteme burzhuaznogo vneshnopoliticheskogo veshchaniya" [Subversive Propaganda in the System of Bourgeois Foreign-Political Broadcasting], Moscow 1978; N. M. Keyzerov, Yu. I. Kandalov and F. F. Petrenko, "Aktual'nyye voprosy sovremennoy ideologicheskoy bor'by" [Important Current Issues in the Present-Day Ideological Struggle], Moscow, 1980; S. I. Beglov, "Vneshnopoliticheskaya propaganda: ocherk teorii i praktiki" [Foreign-Political Propaganda: An Essay on Theory and Practice], Moscow, 1980; V. F. Provotorov, "XXVI s"yezd i voprosy ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty" [The 26th Congress and Questions of Ideological and Political-Upbringing Work], Moscow, 1982; V. L. Artemov, "Psichologicheskaya voyna v strategii imperializma" [Psychological Warfare in the Strategy of Imperialism], Moscow, 1983; and others.

on the methods of counterpropaganda work in the system of party education and in lecture propaganda. On the whole, however, treatment of the methods of counteracting ideology that is hostile to Marxism-Leninism still lags seriously behind the demands of practice.

Practitioners carrying out counterpropaganda feel an acute need for research devoted to the study of public opinion, including the degree to which hostile radio propaganda is received by Soviet people. There is a need for well thought-out methodological recommendations pertaining to the content aspect of counterpropaganda work. The study of such a matter as the differentiated, individualized approach in the counterpropaganda process should be deepened. Generalization of the experience that has been gained in the sphere of combating alien ideological influences needs deeper scientific analysis. Unquestionably, research of this sort would fill out the picture of the present state of counterpropaganda and contribute to a further enhancement of its aggressiveness and effectiveness.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. Kh. Farukhin, professor and head of the Department of Scientific Communism at Kazan State University imini V. I. Ul'yanov-Lenin, analyzed characteristic trends in the development of present-day bourgeois "Sovietology" and noted that it represents a complicated political and ideological complex. From the time of its formation as a reaction to an event of world-historical importance--the Great October Socialist Revolution--bourgeois Sovietology has been a reflection in the theoretical-propaganda sphere of the anti-Soviet tendency of imperialist ideology and policy.

The speaker defined Sovietology as a pseudoscientific variety of anti-Sovietism that includes the study for anti-Soviet purposes of all aspects of the life of Soviet society--economic, sociopolitical and spiritual--and of the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU and the socialist state.

M. Kh. Farukhin noted that while the strategic objectives of bourgeois Sovietology are constant, at each stage in the class struggle between the two social systems it is adapted to imperialism's changing tactics, and this is promptly reflected in the nature of its topics, the scale of Sovietological research, the form in which its material is presented, and the selection of the main "concepts" that are advanced to the foreground. The speaker disclosed the specific features of Sovietology in the cold war period, during the years of international detente, and also at the present stage, which is characterized by an intensification of the danger of war. The distinctiveness of imperialism's present course with regard to the USSR and the other socialist countries consists in the fact that today frontal, vulgar anticommunism is combined with a refined and veiled variety of it.

Further, M. Kh. Farukhin dwelt on the objectives of scholars who specialize in the criticism of bourgeois Sovietology. It is necessary to disclose the mechanism by which anti-Soviet stereotypes are implanted in the minds of the population of the capitalist countries in order that foreign propaganda might counteract this negative phenomenon more successfully.

Another task is to analyze the basic areas and methods of anticomunist propaganda directed at the socialist countries. It is important to establish what this propaganda aims at in each specific case and what its specific features are with regard to various social groups. Study of the conceptual ideas that bourgeois propaganda derives from imperialism's present-day theoretical arsenal, study of the basic stereotypes that have been created on the basis of these ideas and that bourgeois ideologists try to instill in the minds of the socialist countries' populations, and the development of methods for discrediting these stereotypes are a serious aid to the party's ideological and mass political work.

The speaker went on to dwell on the questions of forecasting the ideological struggle, especially the set of problems that may come to the fore and the devices to which our class adversary is most likely to resort. Scientifically substantiated forecasting in this area is a necessary condition for ensuring aggressiveness in the ideological struggle. One of our counterpropaganda's extremely important tasks right now is to anticipate the hostile campaign that bourgeois propaganda will undoubtedly launch on a large scale in connection with the discussion and adoption of the new edition of the CPSU Program.

Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu. I. Igritskiy, chief of a sector of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Scientific Information in the Social Sciences, spoke about the specific features of present-day bourgeois falsifications of the CPSU's historical experience. The first specific feature is that both bourgeois and revisionist "theoreticians" are presently engaged in the distortion of the CPSU's historical experience. A general arsenal of "ideas" is being created that is being used by everyone who is hostile toward real socialism. The second specific feature is a more categorical "rejection" than previously of the usefulness and applicability of the Soviet experience. And, finally, the third and most typical feature of anticomunists' present attacks on the CPSU's historical experience is an endeavor to do everything possible to narrow the sphere of its application not just in a spatial and regional sense (to countries that are at a low level of socioeconomic development), but also to an extremely restricted time-stage framework (supposedly to countries that are completing the period of industrialization).

Then Yu. I. Igritskiy characterized the arguments that should be used in rebuffing hostile attacks on the CPSU's historical experience. The main one is that the USSR's political system, the nucleus of which is the CPSU, is the most stable in the world. Not a single other country in the world has a political party that has been continuously in power for almost 70 years. And yet the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has followed and continues to follow a complex, historically untried path.

In conclusion the speaker called attention to the fact that the stability of socialism's political system is bound up in the closest possible fashion with the party's socioeconomic policies.

Doctor of Historical Sciences V. F. Shevchenko, professor and chief of the Party Construction Sector at the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's Institute

of Party History, devoted his speech to the methodological bankruptcy of bourgeois "interpretations" of the CPSU's role in present-day Soviet society. He subjected to comprehensive critical analysis the latest attempts by bourgeois social scientists to set up K. Marx and F. Engels's views of the proletarian party in opposition to the views of V. I. Lenin. The speaker characterized Marxist-Leninist teaching on the party as profoundly scientific and integral, and in this connection he demonstrated the vanity of our ideological adversaries' attempts to portray it as fragmentary and disconnected ideas, and he showed the fallaciousness and pseudodemocratic nature of the idea of "political pluralism" that is widely advertised by bourgeois propaganda.

In conclusion V. F. Shevchenko used specific examples to disclose the anti-scientific nature of Sovietologists' attempts to distort the conceptual apparatus of party construction and to impose anti-Soviet definitions of various aspects of the life and activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Doctor of Historical Sciences V. A. Zamlinskiy, head of the Department of Source Study at Kiev State University, stressed the lasting importance of Leninist methodological principles in the criticism of bourgeois ideology and demonstrated their timely relevance and role in the present-day ideological struggle. The speaker emphasized that Lenin's methodology for the criticism of bourgeois "theories" was and remains the unshakeable foundation of the ideological activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu. K. Malov, a senior scientific associate at the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, devoted his presentation to analysis of methodological problems in the criticism of bourgeois falsifications of the party's leading role in socialist society. The speaker noted that the falsification of Marxist-Leninist teaching concerning the party's leading role and its embodiment in real socialism has nowadays taken on the nature of a truly frontal attack. There is no aspect of teaching or of the party's domestic and foreign policies that has not been subjected to attacks on the part of our ideological adversaries. Among the principal areas of present-day bourgeois falsifications of the party leadership of socialist society, one must cite attempts to disturb the inseparable unity of Marxist-Leninist ideas on the proletarian vanguard's leading role, the denial of the objective necessity of the Marxist-Leninist party's leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and its allies, the endeavor to falsify the objective regularity of the rise in the party's role in the course of socialist and communist construction, etc.

Yu. K. Malov demonstrated the methodological bankruptcy of bourgeois ideologists' notions regarding the social nature, functions and purpose of political parties. He subjected to well-reasoned criticism the attempts of Sovietologists to depict our party's function of political leadership as an unprecedented phenomenon in social life, and he revealed the mendacity of bourgeois statements regarding the "deproletarianization" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its "slippage" from class positions.

A considerable place in the speeches of participants in the roundtable was devoted to criticism of bourgeois falsifications of the CPSU's present-day economic policies.

Candidate of Economic Sciences V. I. Shevchenko, docent at Kiev State University, used numerous facts to demonstrate the groundlessness of bourgeois myths concerning the "ineffectiveness" of the CPSU's economic policies and the "crisis" of the Soviet economy, and he described other areas of imperialist propaganda's attacks on the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose chief goal is the steady improvement of Soviet working people's well-being.

Candidate of Historical Sciences O. M. Semko, an instructor at Kharkov State University, analyzed the basic areas of bourgeois distortions of the CPSU's agrarian policy, especially the USSR Food Program. Sovietologists, he said, have been attempting to capitalize on actual facts of the failure, still, to fully satisfy the population's demand in a number of the country's regions for high-quality foodstuffs. However, in doing so they fail to mention the fact that the party sees the existing problems and is successfully solving them.

Participants in the roundtable conference subjected bourgeois falsifications of the CPSU's nationalities policy to well-argued criticism.

"The Groundlessness of Bourgeois Falsifications of the CPSU's Nationalities Policy" was the topic of the presentation by Doctor of Historical Sciences L. A. Nagornaya, chief of the Party History Sector of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's Institute of Party History. The problem of the correlation between the international and the national in the historical process, she noted, is one of the most acute problems in the ideological struggle between the two world systems. Bourgeois reaction to the triumphant march of the ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism in the present-day world is expressed in attempts to discredit these ideas and principles and to portray proletarian internationalism as hegemonism in the foreign policy and nationalism in the domestic policy of the ruling Communist parties. Today, in the situation of the frenzied anti-Soviet campaign that has been launched by imperialist circles, bourgeois ideologists' endeavor to interpret proletarian internationalism as a variety of "Russian expansionism" and the "ubiquitous hand of Moscow" has especially intensified. A "nationalistic version" of the history of the CPSU and the Soviet state is derived from distorted interpretations of Russian "national traditions." Nationalism is declared to be the "basis" of the CPSU's policies and the "foundation" on which Soviet society's political system is built. It is depicted as the factor from which the Russians' "aggressiveness" allegedly flows. Such schemata are used to implant anti-Soviet and anti-Russian stereotypes in the minds of the masses and to extort money from taxpayers for the supposed purpose of defending against the "Soviet menace."

L. A. Nagornaya said that the "anti-anniversary campaign" that was timed to coincide with the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR clearly revealed the basic areas of the new falsifications of the CPSU's nationalities

policy. Developing the old theme of the "disintegration" of the USSR, bourgeois ideologists are presently trying to "update" it by introducing the term "de-Russification" into use. Whereas bourgeois propagandists previously aimed their poison arrows primarily at the USSR's non-Russian peoples, now they have decided to "intensify" their ideological influence on the Russians and are trying to frighten them with the "Muslim menace," the "Islamic Renaissance," etc.

Analyzing a number of the main Sovietological concepts of the CPSU's nationalities policy, the speaker drew the conclusions that they are far from any sort of science whatsoever and thus lie outside the bounds of scientific discussion. However, that antithesis and implacable enemy of proletarian internationalism, bourgeois nationalism, is still capable today of doing considerable damage to humanity's forward movement toward new, higher forms of social life. This is precisely why the CPSU orients our social scientists toward a resolute rebuff of any and all manifestations and varieties of nationalism, including those that are concealed under the mask of superficial pseudoscience.

A number of speeches by the roundtable's participants demonstrated the anti-Soviet nature of bourgeois fabrications regarding the CPSU's place and role in Soviet society's political system.

Candidate of Historical Sciences V. L. Savel'ev, senior scientific associate at the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's Institute of Party History, emphasized that one of the most characteristic features of bourgeois writing on this topic is Sovietologists' use of the conceptual arsenal of bourgeois political science. The speaker noted that the most widespread political-science concepts used in Sovietology to falsify the CPSU's role as the nucleus of socialist society's political system include the concepts of "bureaucracy," "political pluralism" and "political legitimacy." In this connection it is necessary to step up research in which analysis of bourgeois distortions of the CPSU's role in mature socialism's political system is carried out in a comprehensive fashion, taking the latest achievements of Soviet social sciences into account.

Candidate of Historical Sciences K. P. Tarasov, instructor at Kharkov Polytechnical Institute, devoted his presentation to analyzing West German bourgeois historiography that distorts the CPSU's political role. He subjected the latest modifications of the reactionary concept of "totalitarianism" to persuasive criticism, and he dwelt on Soviet social scientists' tasks in exposing bourgeois falsifications of socialist democracy.

Candidate of Historical Sciences A. I. Ostashko, docent at the Kremenchug branch of Kharkov Polytechnical Institute, dealt with the same questions, but with reference to the French bourgeoisie.

A number of speeches were devoted to the state of criticism of bourgeois falsifications in the science of party history.

Candidate of Historical Sciences Ye. Ya. Vittenberg, senior scientific associate at the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, noted that in the past decade the struggle against bourgeois historiography's fabrications pertaining to various aspects of the CPSU's present-day policies has improved its response time, and many works have appeared exposing falsifications on a high ideological and theoretical level.

Now it is time to create major research studies that will take what has been accomplished into account and present critical analyses of bourgeois and revisionist historiography pertaining to various aspects of the CPSU's policies at various historical stages, or to one or several issues over the course of the Soviet state's entire history. These could be works exposing falsifications of the CPSU's activities in regard to the development of socialist competition, the enlistment of the working people in production management, the development of their labor and sociopolitical activeness, or the improvement of Soviet people's well-being or formation of their political culture.

The speaker noted that criticism of bourgeois and revisionist concepts on a number of important issues is almost completely absent from Soviet scholars' field of vision. There are almost no works on such major issues in the ideological struggle as relations between the CPSU and the Soviet trade unions, the delimitation of their functions, and the party's concern for the improvement of Soviet people's educational and cultural levels. Bourgeois interpretations of the problems of overcoming alienation in conditions of socialism, and our ideological adversaries' fabrications concerning the correlation between the party's leading role and the working class's key role, and the CPSU's social policies in conditions of the scientific and technical revolution require further rebuttal.

Not all reserves have been tapped in the matter of ensuring the aggressiveness of our scientific works, either. One means of enhancing aggressiveness might be research presenting comparative analyses of various aspects of the policies of the CPSU and the bourgeois parties. Works of this sort would make it possible to demonstrate, for example, the fundamental difference between the CPSU's foreign policy and that of the bourgeois parties, and to disclose the opposite nature of their approaches to questions of employment, well-being, the working people's participation in managing the affairs of the state and society, the enhancement of their culture, sociopolitical activeness, and the solution of national and race problems, i.e., to illuminate socialism's advantages in all spheres of social life.

Also speaking at the roundtable conference were: Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu. Ya. Shapoval, senior instructor at Kiev State University ("The Ideological Struggle With Regard to the Problem of the Rise of the CPSU's Leading Role in Soviet Society"); Candidate of Historical Sciences A. F. Ivanov, an instructor at the same university ("The Groundlessness of Bourgeois Falsifications of the Principle of Internationalism in Party Construction"); Candidate of Historical Sciences Z. N. Mironov, docent at Latvian State University ("Against Bourgeois and Revisionist Falsifications of the CPSU's Ideological Work in Conditions of Developed Socialism"); Candidate of

Historical Sciences V. S. Doroshenko, junior scientific associate at the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's Institute of Party History ("Criticism of Bourgeois Concepts of the CPSU's Foreign-Policy Activities"); Candidate of Historical Sciences T. V. Orlova, instructor at Kiev State University ("Historiographic Research Is a Necessary Condition for Enhancing the Effectiveness of Criticism of Bourgeois and Revisionist Concepts of the CPSU's Leading Role"); I. Yu. Charskikh, an instructor at the Donetsk Institute of Soviet Trade ("Some Issues in the Criticism of Bourgeois Nationalist Interpretations of the History of the Ukrainian Communist Party"); Candidate of Historical Sciences A. G. Morar', docent at Kishinev State University, ("Against Bourgeois Falsifications of the Moldavian Communist Party's Party-Organizational and Ideological Work in Present-Day Conditions"), and others.

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REGIONAL

AGRICULTURE, TRANSPORT EXAMINED IN TAJIK BUREO MEETING

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 20 Sep 84 p 1

/Article appears under the rubric: "In the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Tajik Communist Party"/

/Text/ At the regular meeting of the Buro of the Central Committee of the Tajik Communist Party the work of the republic's party organization was examined on the utilization of the production potential, established for agriculture. It was noted that at kolkhozes and sovkhozes in recent years the material base has become significantly stronger, the supply of funds has increased, the irrigated land areas have been extended, and the deliveries of equipment and fertilizers have increased as well as the volume of capital investments. The cultural and daily living conditions of the rural workers have improved. It was noted that, guided by the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress following the Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the goals of the Food Program, the party committees and the soviet and agricultural bodies are directing the efforts of the workers toward improvement of production efficiency and strengthening of the economic system of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Moreover, it was pointed out that the production potential established for agriculture in the republic is still not used efficiently enough and that the capital investments, assigned to the development of the agroindustrial complex sectors, do not produce proper returns. Fund returns and productivity of labor are decreasing. The production cost of agricultural products is growing. The administrators of the party, soviet, economic bodies, ministries and departments were harshly criticized for not exercising the proper persistence in solving the fundamental problems of intensification of agricultural production and the efficient utilization of material-technical, financial and manpower resources. The intolerability of poor implementation of scientific achievements and advanced work practices, and the inefficient utilization of lands, particularly the irrigated arable lands, was pointed out.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the Tajik Communist Party demanded from the party committees, the ispolkoms of the oblast, city and rayon

Councils of the People's Deputies, the appropriate ministries and departments, and the soviets of the agroindustrial association that they take decisive measures for: eliminating the shortcomings in the utilization of the production potential established in agriculture; improving in all ways production efficiency; ensuring the unconditional fulfillment of the plans and socialist obligations of the fourth year and the five-year plan as a whole; and, developing in each worker superior discipline and a proprietary attitude toward land and public property. They demanded that the level of socialist competition be raised to improve the productivity of the fields and farms as well as the above-plan growth of labor productivity and the additional reduction of production costs.

The question of further improvement of transport operations for passenger service was examined at the Buro. Serious shortcomings in these operations were pointed out. The demands for transport services are not completely satisfied, public transport is not adequately efficient, and the standards for service are low. Passenger service is beset with great difficulties in air and railroad transport during the summer, and this produces valid criticism on the part of the workers. Breakdowns in passenger transport schedules occur.

Admitting that such a situation is intolerable, the Buro made the republic's Ministry of Motor Transport, the Tajik Civil Air Administration, and the Central Asian Railroad develop and implement specific measures to satisfy the transportation needs of the population, to improve service conditions, and to bring order and discipline to transport. Measures to improve the counterpropaganda activity of the party organizations were also discussed.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the Tajik Communist Party also examined other questions related to the social-economic development of the republic.

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REGIONAL

**NEW TALLINN HARBOR CONSTRUCTION UPDATE**

Tallinn RAHVA HMM in Estonian 5 Oct 84 p 2

[Article by Tonis Toom: "Ships Arrive in Muuga Bay"]

[Text] "How are things?"

"Normal."

I had never before heard such an answer from senior supervisor Viktor Yessakov, who represents the largest contractor at the Tallinn new harbor site, the 423rd construction administration of the "Baltmorgidrostroy" trust. Not that things went badly during the first 2.5 years of construction. To the contrary--construction schedule has basically been met and plans have been routinely exceeded. But Viktor Yessakov is not in the habit of talking about achievements, usually he turns the conversation to urgent tasks, problems awaiting solution and bottlenecks that threaten to slow down construction. And the site supervisor always has his problems, especially on such a gigantic labor field as is the Tallinn new port.

"There are enough problems even now," the senior supervisor agrees, "they do not end at any site before the project has been handed over. But the pace of construction is generally satisfactory, the summer months were pretty well used."

Indeed, IN 8 MONTHS CONSTRUCTION AND INSTALLATION JOBS AT ALL THE PROJECTS OF THE NEW PORT (INCLUDING COMMUNICATIONS, HOUSING AND SERVICE FACILITIES) WERE VALUED AT 14 MILLION RUBLES, AND THE PLAN WAS EXCEEDED BY ALMOST ONE QUARTER.

Capital investments of 29 million rubles (including work done by foreign firms) have been introduced, considerably exceeding the planned amount.

The dredging of the future harbor is proceeding especially successfully. The 423rd construction administration exceeded its own 9-month schedule by seven percent, fulfilling considerably more than three-quarters of the annual plan. Viktor Yessakov, senior supervisor, considers such a construction pace quite normal and downright necessary.

"Experience shows that the fall and winter can bring unpleasant surprises to harbor construction--a storm can hinder dredging and wharf construction. For this reason a certain reserve capacity must be built for the fall, and the plan must be exceeded so that we will not be in trouble at year's end," he explained.

It seems that the most intense activity is underway in the western part of the harbor. A majority of the heating elements for the workers have been brought there. These amount to almost a town in itself, but there are hopes that they will not be needed in some time--once the construction workers' base is completed. There are plans to open the cafeteria and infirmary in the first quarter of next year--inside jobs are underway there--and at the end of the next half year the entire complex is scheduled to be finished, including a four-story technological and recreational facility and a machine center.

Construction is proceeding in the sewer and water supply station, with both of them to come on line this year (according to the socialist obligation assumed by the 423rd construction administration the very latest deadline is 20 December.) The builders have promised to have 370 meters of the surface of the western breakwater completed by 22 December.

The most urgent task is currently the opening of a dock for so-called mineral construction loads. This is needed for faster and better supply of the site.

ESSR WORKERS' SOCIALIST OBLIGATIONS PLEDGED TO PUT THE DOCK IN WORKING CONDITION BY THE 57TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION, BUT THE BUILDERS HAVE MANAGED THEIR TASKS SO THAT THE GOAL WILL BE MET SOONER. THE MAJOR PART OF THE CONSTRUCTION WAS CONCLUDED BY THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF TALLINN'S LIBERATION, now only a portal crane must be installed on the dock. Some of the ships arriving in Muuga Bay with construction materials and parts already make fast at that dock, but to date construction shipments have been generally received on the neighboring harbor vessel dock. These two docks thus represent the first functioning part of Tallinn's new port, although for the time being they are still subordinated to the third loading district of the old commercial port.

"For some months we have received construction materials, installations, and parts," Grigory Tikhinkiy, deputy chief of the loading district explained. "Look, right now we are unloading the "Volgo-Balt 56" from Kaliningrad, but tomorrow we will receive the large ro-ro type ship "Kessulaid" that brings a load for the Finnish builders.

"It is not easy to manage receiving and unloading of the ships, since construction is proceeding at the same time and we need the existing three cranes both for unloading and for putting up the fourth portal crane, something that is going on right now. Once this crane is in place, we can put the construction load dock also into use (we have to put down rails for the crane, of course) and we will manage the unloading and transfer to builders better."

A brigade of a specialized installation organization from Riga had arrived to put the five-ton crane into working order. Says brigadir Egons Riekstins: "Our installation administration is in Riga, but we have worked in Kaliningrad, Leningrad, Klaipeda and Black Sea and Pacific ports. We put up cranes and other devices. We have a multinational collective, our eight-man brigade alone has workers from five nationalities."

One brigade member, Arand Plink, who has lived and worked in Riga for some 10 years, adds that the brigade has skilled men. Even though the conditions of this project are complicated, the installers understand how important the achievement of full capacity of the loading complex is for the harbor builders, and they promise to do everything possible to put the new crane quickly into working order.

Busy work is also underway on the eastern edge of the harbor. There one of the 423rd construction administration's most enthusiastic brigades, headed by Nikolay Vinogradov, and a harbor construction brigade dispatched from the Leningrad "Sevzapgidrostroy" trust are building docks scheduled to come into use in 1986 as part of the first construction stage.

The constructors of the Tallinn new port have firmly pledged to meet the tasks and socialist obligations of this year fully, and to exceed the schedule in several sectors. In this way the conditions for opening our republic's largest construction project at the right time will be met.

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REGIONAL

**ARMENIA CELEBRATES 700 YEARS OF GLADZOR UNIVERSITY**

[Editorial Report] Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian No 243, 1984 carries on pages 1 and 2 an 1,800-word ARMENPRESS article entitled "The Eminent Center of Thought and Learning." On October 18 in Erevan a meeting was held in the State Academy Theater imeni A. Spendiarov to celebrate the 700th anniversary of the Gladzor University. Among the invited guests were scholars from Moscow and Leningrad, dignitaries from other Union Republics and representatives from the vast Armenian Diaspora. The meeting was opened by chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers F. T. Sarkisyan, who spoke of the outstanding role Gladzor University has played in the development of scientific thought, literature, and the arts since the 13th-century. He stressed the ideological and patriotic significance of the preservation of historical and cultural monuments of the Soviet people, as the directive of the 24th CPSU Congress dictates. The meeting was attended by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and other members of the Armenian presidium: B.E. Sarkisov, G.M. Voskanyan, K.A. Kambaryan, K.L. Dallakyan, G.A. Martirosyan, M.O. Topuzyan, and M.A. Yuzbayshyan.

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